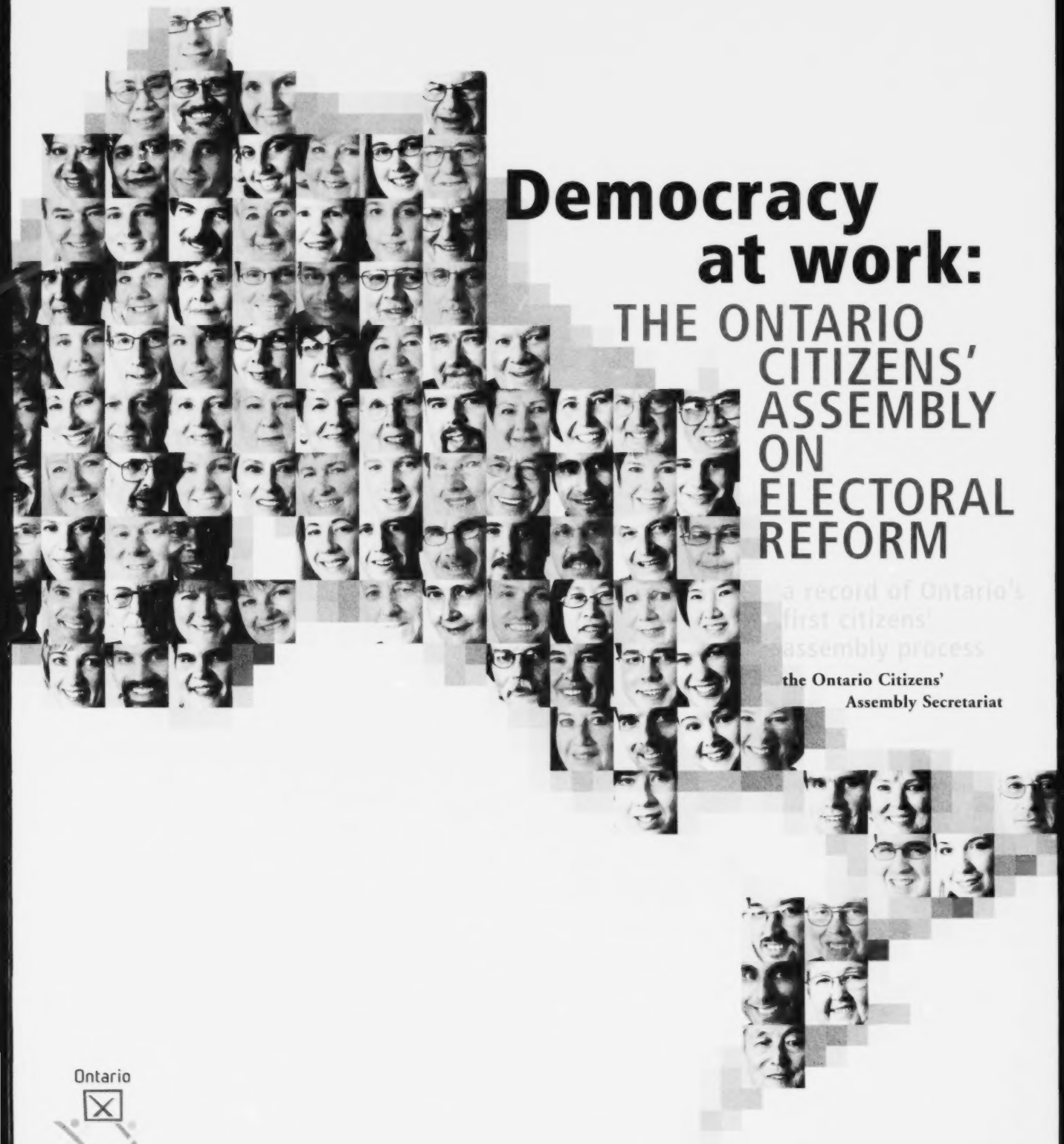

Democracy at work:

THE ONTARIO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY ON ELECTORAL REFORM

a record of Ontario's first citizens' assembly process

the Ontario Citizens' Assembly Secretariat

Ontario

Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform

L'Assemblée des citoyens sur la réforme électorale

DEMOCRACY AT WORK:
THE ONTARIO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY ON ELECTORAL REFORM

A RECORD OF ONTARIO'S FIRST CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY PROCESS

THE ONTARIO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT

Please visit the Citizens' Assembly website www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca to download this report.

Also posted on the website is the Assembly's final report, *One Ballot, Two Votes: A New Way to Vote in Ontario,* and information on electoral systems and the Ontario Citizens' Assembly.

To order a copy of these reports, contact Publications Ontario at www.publications.gov.on.ca. Phone orders can be placed at 1-800-668-9938, TTY-only toll free, 1-800-268-7095.

Disponible en français.

Photos: Ben Li, Raw Edge Photography

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May 2007

Dear Minister Bountrogianni:

I am pleased to submit *Democracy at Work: The Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform*. This report complements *One Ballot, Two Votes: A New Way to Vote in Ontario*, the Assembly's final report and recommendation.

Democracy at Work documents the Citizens' Assembly process in detail and describes the Mixed Member Proportional electoral system the Assembly has recommended. I hope it will assist individuals and organizations interested in citizen engagement, electoral reform, or both. I also believe that a report of this nature is a fitting conclusion to a uniquely transparent process.

Democracy at Work was prepared by the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat that supported the Assembly in its work, with input from Assembly members. I would like to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the Secretariat team for their talent, energy, and unwavering commitment to excellence.

Most of all, I would like to thank the 103 extraordinary citizens who served as Assembly members. The process documented here is their process and their legacy.

George Thomson
Chair
Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform

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PART I:
INTRODUCTION

1. ONTARIO'S FIRST CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

[Find out how this new model of citizen engagement was different from anything Ontario had tried before – and why it made sense to use it to examine our electoral system.]

The Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform brought together a diverse group of ordinary citizens to assess Ontario's electoral system (the way votes are translated into seats in the legislature), compare it with systems used in other democracies, and recommend the best system for the province – our existing system or a new one the Assembly would design specifically for Ontario.

This is a task usually assigned to expert panels, legislative committees, or Royal Commissions. The Citizens' Assembly was a fundamentally different approach. Apart from the Chair, the members were drawn randomly from the Ontario electorate. This reflected a basic trust in the capabilities of ordinary citizens.

Unlike public hearings or other ways that governments have tried to seek advice from the public in the past, this process devoted significant time to giving the Assembly members a thorough background in the issue through a comprehensive learning program including six weekend sessions. But three equally important elements were unique to this process. First, the Assembly consulted broadly with the public. Through forty-one public meetings, over 1,000 written submissions, and a concerted effort to reach a wide cross-section of the people of Ontario, the process allowed the members to hear what other Ontarians were thinking. Second, once they had learned about the issues and heard from their fellow citizens, the members had time to deliberate and decide together during a further six weekends. The final feature of the process, unprecedented in Ontario, was that the members were guaranteed direct access to their fellow citizens, in the form of a referendum, if they recommended change. These characteristics all contributed to making the Citizens' Assembly a remarkable experiment in citizen engagement. In large measure, they explain why the members were willing and eager to take on a responsibility that consumed a minimum of thirty to forty hours per month of their time over the course of eight months.

"Whatever the Assembly decides, it will have already achieved a great deal. It will have considered our electoral system, yes, but it will also have challenged the way we think about democratic reform and the role of ordinary citizens in creating a political community."

– George Thomson, Chair (Citizens' Assembly news release, October 26, 2006)

Our existing electoral system had been in place since 1792, when we elected our first parliament. Why examine that system after all this time? What moved this issue onto the public policy agenda?

One answer is that a fresh assessment of electoral systems was going on in Canada and abroad. Ontario joined many long-established democracies, including the United Kingdom and New Zealand, in recognizing that the time had come to take a thoughtful look at electoral systems. New Brunswick, Quebec, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island had also been discussing the issue and considering specific proposals for reform.

Another reason for examining our electoral system strikes closer to home. Electoral systems have a significant impact on the choices we have when we vote and on who is elected to represent us. Advocates for particular electoral systems make strong arguments for how those systems embody important principles or values, such as fairness of representation, voter choice, proportionality, effective political parties, and stable and effective government. We in Ontario had never publicly considered and evaluated our electoral system or alternative systems against the background of the principles we value. The benefits of doing so were clear, whether or not it led to a recommendation for change.

"The province is changing demographically and it is important to examine other electoral systems to see which works best."

– John Toll, Assembly Member, Erie – Lincoln

But perhaps the most important reason for examining our electoral system was that the Ontario of today is, in many respects, very different from the Ontario of 1792. We see this in the Assembly itself. Twenty-seven members were born outside Canada and the members can claim more than twenty countries of origin among them. Clearly, an assembly of voters in 1792 would have been very different. It was timely, early in this new century, to examine our electoral system from the perspective of a group representative of Ontario as it exists today.

2. MEMBERS AND THE CHAIR

[Get to know the members of Ontario's first Citizens' Assembly.]

These pictures and brief biographies were compiled shortly after the Assembly members were selected. Many of the members shared their thoughts as they embarked on the process.

ALGOMA – MANITOULIN

Donald Brickett of McKerrow (near Espanola) was born and raised in Alberta. About the Citizens' Assembly, Donald says, "I want to be involved in and represent my community, even in a small way." Donald is retired from a thirty-four-year career with Inco. He has served as captain of the community's volunteer fire department for twelve years and is actively involved as an executive on the Cottager's Association for his area. He enjoys gardening, hunting, fishing, and the cottage life. Donald and his spouse Raija have one son, Pat; three daughters: Donna, Leann, and Dawn; and three grandchildren: Noah, Will, and Atley.

ANCASTER – DUNDAS – FLAMBOROUGH – ALDERSHOT

Jeff Witt lives in Waterdown. He has three children: Jennifer, Jordan, and Stacey. He had a strong feeling he was going to be selected for the Citizens' Assembly. "It was an omen! There's been a winning streak happening at the Witt household in the last two weeks," he said after being selected. Jeff says he "will love the challenge to make a difference." He is a metallurgical engineer and manages a team developing new lightweight laminate materials for the automotive industry. Jeff enjoys family time, gardening, and sports. He has volunteered as a mentor with the Industry Education Council of Hamilton, and actively supports his daughter's high school rowing team.

BARRIE – SIMCOE – BRADFORD

Karl Cadera came to Canada from Germany in 1955 and grew up in Windsor; he now lives in Barrie and often visits his brother in Seattle. Karl and his wife Susan have three sons and two grandchildren. A retired high school principal, Karl works part time for several community service agencies, assisting with their fundraising efforts. Always looking for ways to help vulnerable people, Karl says that "how we treat our most vulnerable is a sign of the strength of our society." An active canvasser in past elections, Karl has "always been interested in politics" and thinks the Citizens' Assembly is "another way to contribute to our democracy."

BEACHES – EAST YORK

Catherine Baquero from Toronto was the first person selected to the Citizens' Assembly. She says she is "excited to have the opportunity to be part of this democratic process." She is currently finishing up her BA in Peace & Conflict Studies at the University of Toronto and her next goal is to apply for a Master's in social work. Currently, Catherine is working with children who have autism, a job that she finds very rewarding. When she is not studying or working, Catherine enjoys movies, especially documentaries, reading (*Catch 22* is her favourite book), and all kinds of dancing – tap, jazz, salsa, and belly dancing.

BRAMALEA – GORE-MALTON – SPRINGDALE

Theresa Vella of Brampton was born in Malta, the second to last of eight children. She is happily married and has a new addition to her family – a beautiful granddaughter. Theresa works with children in a hospital and likes contributing to the well-being of people, especially children. She enjoys travelling to see how other people live, cooking all kinds of food, and gardening. Theresa says the Citizens' Assembly is a "rare opportunity," and good timing, because she recently told her husband that she might like to be more involved in politics in the future.

BRAMPTON CENTRE

Joyce Hughes of Brampton was born in Portsmouth, England, and came to Canada with her family in 1954. Joyce is married and has two sons who are both married and have grown children. She is committed to being her granddaughter's chauffeur, driving her to college or work. Joyce is "excited about participating in a committee that jointly will discuss and review the electoral process and possibly contribute to change." Retired now, Joyce was a payroll and benefits administrator for twenty-seven years. She enjoys baking and has travelled extensively, but still has Australia and New Zealand on her list of places she would like to visit.

BRAMPTON WEST – MISSISSAUGA

Mappanar Sundrelingam was born in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, where he still has lots of family, but has made Ontario his home for eighteen years. He lives in Mississauga with his wife Bhanu and their two children, twelve-year-old son Vaakesan and ten-year-old daughter Inthu. Mappanar says he is looking forward to working with the other Citizens' Assembly members. He believes the Assembly is a "once in a lifetime experience" and wants to "get more involved in Ontario's community." When he is not busy with work as a Team Leader with a major bank in downtown Toronoto, Mappanar enjoys music, reading, and spending time with his family.

BRANT

Leana Swanson has lived in Brantford for twenty-three years. She manages a cellular phone store and attends university part time, majoring in history. Leana is interested in politics, law, and current events and enjoys reading historical novels and writing. She has travelled through Europe and once spent two months in France. Leana wanted to be a part of the Citizens' Assembly because she "felt it was important to be part of something that would have so much impact...that would be groundbreaking."

BRUCE – GREY – OWEN SOUND

Arita Droog was born in Toronto, but spent some of her childhood in Holland. She returned to Canada in 1964 and now lives in Durham. Arita and her husband Arnold have been married for thirty-three years and have two children, Adrian and Alysa. They're also proud grandparents to Jacob. Arita spent eighteen years as a bus driver and more recently worked as a merchandiser. Arita now has "the privilege of staying home." She thinks "it is important to learn about the government and be involved in history." Arita enjoys camping and exploring the sites of Ontario. In her spare time, she is very active in church activities and volunteers with her local food bank.

BURLINGTON

Sandra Richter was born in Hamilton, part of a family of ten, and now lives in Burlington with her husband, Reg. She works as an account manager for a software company and previously worked with the Halton Board of Education. Sandra loves the outdoors: golfing, hiking, snowmobiling, and spending time at her cottage in Muskoka. She sees the Citizens' Assembly as a "challenge to learn something new, get more involved in the community, and be a part of history."

CAMBRIDGE

Jerrold Labrecque was born in Thunder Bay and moved to Cambridge three years ago. He's travelled across Canada and says his favourite spot is Baffin Island, for the "great fishing." Jerrold and his wife Becky have two boys, Joshua and Owen. A retired Captain with the Canadian Armed Forces, Jerrold has taught high school science and worked as a registered medical lab technologist. Now he's a senior project manager with a local technology firm. In his spare time, Jerrold enjoys basketball, hockey, fishing, and gardening. He says he "would like to learn how the electoral process works and assist with improving our current process."

CHATHAM – KENT ESSEX

Jean Thompson was born and raised in Chatham. She and her "terrific and supportive" husband have two children. One just started university and the other is graduating. Jean used to enjoy spending time watching her kids play minor softball and taking them to bowling lessons. She is an animal lover and has two dogs. Jean is excited to be part of the Citizens' Assembly and "to be involved in how elections work." She says she's "never done anything like this before."

DAVENPORT

Jon Bridgman was born in London, Ontario and now resides in Toronto. He has travelled and worked throughout Canada and internationally. He spent over thirty years in the financial industry and is a director of a number of companies. An entrepreneur, he has co-founded several businesses over the past fifteen years. Jon has two children, both of whom are married and have children. He describes himself as having "a strong environmental conscience" and enjoys fishing and golfing. Jon says he's happy to be part of the Assembly because "we must always be striving to improve things," and "it is critical for our democratic process to educate all citizens to exercise their right to vote."

DON VALLEY EAST

Olivera Bakic from Toronto was born in Yugoslavia (now Serbia) and came to Canada with her husband and two boys thirty-eight years ago. Olivera taught high school French and was the office manager for her husband's dental office for twenty-four years. These days, she is a very active retiree who loves reading, walking, and cooking, and does catering for friends and others. Olivera says the Citizens' Assembly just "felt right" and that this was the "perfect time to make a contribution."

DON VALLEY WEST

Taylor Gilbert lives in Toronto with his wife Nancy. Together, they have three grown sons: Gregor, Adam, and Brian. A retired professor of accounting at the University of Toronto, and former council member of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ontario, Taylor says he's "always been interested in politics," and that the Citizens' Assembly "is only going to happen once," which is why he wanted to "take advantage of the opportunity." Taylor volunteers at Sunnybrook Hospital, plays tennis, and enjoys downhill skiing. A published author, Taylor has an interest in the stock market and goes biking and hiking in his spare time.

DUFFERIN – PEEL – WELLINGTON – GREY

Matthew L.O. Certosimo grew up in Bradford, studied in Waterloo and Halifax, and now lives in Caledon. He and his wife Dawn have twin eight-year-old daughters, Maggie and Frankie. Matt says the Assembly is "an historic opportunity to make a difference," and since he studied political science, he's "quite interested in the electoral process." Matt is a labour and employment lawyer in Toronto, a partner in a national law firm, and an adjunct professor at the University of Toronto. He enjoys spending time with his wife and daughters and travelling whenever possible.

DURHAM

Margo Bath was born in Newfoundland, the youngest of eight children. She graduated from Memorial University and studied at universities in Manitoba and British Columbia. Margo has called almost every province her home at one time or another, but now lives in Oshawa and teaches at Durham College. Margo herself is a lifelong learner and she sees the Citizens' Assembly as an "amazing learning experience" and a "mind-opening project." Margo loves travelling, and her trips have taken her to South America and Central America, Mexico, Europe, and the United States. The night before she was selected, Margo returned from a trip to San Francisco that included a coastal drive to Monterey and Carmel-by-the-Sea.

EGLINTON – LAWRENCE

Laura Antonio is of Portuguese descent. She was born in Toronto and continues to live there. She is the youngest of four children and has spent some time living in Brazil on an academic exchange. Laura has a Bachelor of Business Administration (Honours) from York University and recently left a career in retail management. She plans to apply to law school in 2007. She describes herself as a lifelong learner and wants to be part of the Assembly to "have an impact on something that could effect great change." In her spare time, Laura enjoys golfing and playing poker (friendly games, not the high stakes variety!).

ELGIN – MIDDLESEX – LONDON

Darcie Beckley lives in St. Thomas with her girlfriend Julie, their three cats, and a Jack Russell pup, Kira. She is interested in earth-based spirituality and practises Reiki energy healing. In addition to artwork and writing, Darcie is an avid hiker, enjoys camping, and tries to spend part of each day in a "wild place." She and her partner facilitate drum circles. Darcie assisted with the construction of the labyrinth in Waterworks Park and participates in sweat lodges. She says the Citizens' Assembly "seems like an exciting possibility for personal learning and growth."

ERIE – LINCOLN

John Toll of Dunnville also lived in Belleville and St. Thomas while serving in the OPP. After the OPP, John studied forestry and worked for the Ministry of Natural Resources in conservation and public relations. He obtained a BA from Brock University as a mature student. Now retired, he enjoys gardening and woodworking, and is involved with Crime Stoppers, the Lions, and Freemasonry. He is the author of the book *Tornado*, which tells the story of the Woodstock storm of 1979. He and his wife Glenda have three children and six grandchildren. He is intrigued about the Citizens' Assembly because "the province is changing demographically and it is important to examine other electoral systems to see which works best."

ESSEX

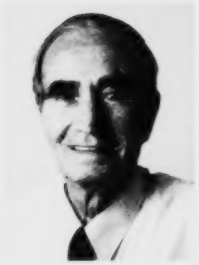
Tamara Fick was born in Woodstock, but now lives in Essex County, where she met her husband. Tamara has two stepchildren and enjoys being a grandmother to five children. She looks forward to teaching them about electoral systems. Tamara loves to travel, and her position as an administrator for a local union has taken her to Las Vegas and Bermuda. Next up is a trip to Hawaii in 2008. Tamara enjoys reading, long walks, and family get-togethers. Normally, she curls in the winter, but she doesn't mind taking a year off to improve her understanding of electoral systems: "There will always be curling. I want to be a part of making history."

ETOBICOKE CENTRE

Melinda Selmys lives in Etobicoke, is married, and has three small children: Agnes, 6, Philomena, 3, and Solomon, 1. Melinda has her hands full working inside the home, caring for her children, and looking after her husband's grandmother. Before her first child was born, she ran a homeless shelter in Orangeville with her husband. When she finds time, Melinda enjoys reading and creative writing. For Melinda, being on the Citizens' Assembly is an "important civic duty" and she is looking forward to learning about electoral systems: "I don't have strong views on any system – that's important. Some have strong views but they may not have researched the topic."

ETOBICOKE – LAKESHORE

Tom Engelhart of Etobicoke was born in Montreal. He spent his childhood in London and Toronto. Tom has one brother, two nieces, and one nephew. He is retired from his job in information technology with the Toronto District School Board. Tom says that the Citizens' Assembly is a project he "believes in" and that he is excited about having an opportunity to "make a contribution." He spends his spare time taking courses in book publishing, participating in charitable walks and runs, and enjoying the company of family and friends. Tom also enjoys cheering on the Toronto Maple Leafs and the Toronto Blue Jays and has a love of trivia.



ETOBICOKE NORTH

Zaya Abram Yonan is from Iraq and has lived in Etobicoke for the last ten years. Zaya lives with his four grown children – three daughters and one son. After a career working in personnel management with petroleum companies, Zaya is looking forward to retirement. He likes to dance and enjoys picnics and travelling. About the Assembly, he says, "I want to express this point to my fellow citizens: elections are very important to the democracy of our country. I want to help."

GLENGARRY – PRESCOTT – RUSSELL

Roxanne Taillon was born in Charlottetown, P.E.I. and now lives in Alfred. She is from a French-Canadian family and has a younger brother. She enjoys travelling and learning about other cultures. Roxanne is studying sociology and just finished her third year. She spends her summers working with adults who have special needs. She loves kids and aspires to be an elementary school teacher. In grade eight, Roxanne won the opportunity to work at Queen's Park for a week. She describes it as "an exciting and challenging experience." About the Assembly, Roxanne says she wants "to make a difference and share her opinions. Politics are part of everyone's life directly or indirectly."

GUELPH – WELLINGTON

Elsayed Abdelaal moved to Guelph from Saskatoon in 1999. He and his wife Sanaa have two daughters; Gilan, who is in university, and Reham, who is finishing high school. Sanaa is a research associate, and Elsayed is a research scientist working on the development of grain-based functional food products. He says the Citizens' Assembly will be "a new learning experience" and is looking forward to helping to ensure that "our community has the best electoral system possible." Elsayed recently finished editing a book, *Specialty Grains for Food and Feed*. In his spare time, he enjoys soccer, tennis, and reading.

HALDIMAND – NORFOLK – BRANT

Jon Kristman was born in Simcoe and has lived there all his life, but he has travelled to the US many times and also to Paris. Jon says he has "a good family." He aspires to be a corporate lawyer one day. Jon is interested in politics and thought the Citizens' Assembly "seemed really interesting," but he never dreamed he would be selected. He plays hockey and has helped coach a kids' team, but his real passion in life is motocross racing.

HALIBURTON – VICTORIA – BROCK

Marie McLaren grew up on a farm in Blackwater and lived in Markham for twenty-five years before moving to Buckhorn seven years ago. Marie and her husband have two sons and one grandchild. Retired from a thirty-four-year career as a public school teacher, Marie sings in three choirs and volunteers at her local community centre. In her free time, she enjoys walking, golfing, reading, needlework, and cheering on the Blue Jays. For Marie, the Assembly is a "good chance to learn about electoral systems and be a part of something important."

HALTON

John Daley was born in England and served in the Royal Navy from 1948 to 1955. He came to Canada in 1960, and now makes his home in Georgetown with his wife of fifty years, Jean. They have two children and seven grandchildren. Formerly an industrial engineer, John is retired and very active in the local Seniors' Centre. He is also involved with the Shriners and is Chairman of the Sick Children's organization in Georgetown. John enjoys watercolours and carving owls and birds. He is "looking forward to being part of a groundbreaking experience and gaining an understanding" of what his "fellow citizens would like."

HAMILTON EAST

Rosemarie (Rose) Arsenault has lived all her life in Hamilton. She says she started to get interested in elections during the last federal election and is very excited about being part of the Citizens' Assembly. Rose is a people person and has worked in sales for over twenty years. When she is not at work as a Corporate Account Manager with one of Canada's largest floral wholesalers, Rose enjoys spending time with her nieces and nephews (she loves children), travelling to warmer climates, entertaining, reading, and taking part in charity fundraising events such as bowling for the United Way and the Canadian Cancer Society Relay for Life.

HAMILTON MOUNTAIN

Jennie Stakich calls Hamilton home, but her extensive travels have taken her across Canada, the US, Europe, Asia, South America, and the Caribbean. She wants to be a part of the Citizens' Assembly because it sounds interesting and she is looking forward to working with the other Assembly members. Jennie said she was genuinely surprised to be selected: "These things don't happen to me." She has three nieces, three grandnieces, one nephew, two grandnephews, and one great-grandnephew. Retired now, Jennie enjoys playing bridge and doing "bone builder" exercises. Weather permitting, she starts out early every morning for a three-mile walk.

HAMILTON WEST

Frank O'Grady lives in Hamilton, but was born in northern Ontario. He loves packing up his tent and setting out on his bicycle to tour Ontario's many beautiful provincial parks. He takes about five or six trips every summer. Frank also enjoys reading historical biographies, British ones in particular. Frank is married and has a son and a daughter. He has worked for a university for over thirty years, currently as a radio dispatcher. For Frank, the Citizens' Assembly is a "pretty good move to have a non-partisan, independent look at the electoral system." He says the Assembly is important because "a lot of people discount democracy right now."

HASTINGS – FRONTENAC – LENNOX AND ADDINGTON

Dianne Carey of Inverary has lived in Kingston most of her life. She has two sons, twenty-six-year-old Chris and sixteen-year-old Fraser. Dianne has worked with the federal government for thirty-three years, supervising a team of revenue collectors. In her free time, she enjoys working in her huge garden and walking. Dianne is very excited to be a part of the Citizens' Assembly. She has always been interested in the political process and issues and says there were always "political discussions over breakfast" in the Carey household.

HURON – BRUCE

Scott Allen was born in Clinton, studied in Windsor and Waterloo, and now lives near Goderich. He is a land use planner with a local engineering firm, where he is responsible for conducting environmental assessments. Scott is currently on parental leave – a first for men in his office. Scott and his wife Anita were married in 2000 and recently welcomed their daughter, Olivia. In his spare time, Scott enjoys golf, softball, curling, and hiking. He has travelled throughout England, the Caribbean, the United States, and eastern Canada. Scott is looking forward to "evaluating strategies which could enhance the fairness and equity of our electoral system."

KENORA – RAINY RIVER

Julia Craner calls Wabigoon home (near Dryden), and though she's lived in Alberta, Manitoba, and Nova Scotia, it's the land and lakes of Ontario she loves. A status Cree, Julia and her husband Ken have two children, five grandchildren, and a chocolate brown Labrador Retriever named Mocha. Her jobs in customer service and administration take Julia to Fort Frances and Kenora. Julia enjoys camping, fishing, and biking. She also likes photography and technology. In her spare time, Julia keeps the books for a local church. She says that participating in the Citizens' Assembly is her "chance to have a say in the electoral process for people from Northern Ontario."

KINGSTON AND THE ISLANDS

Buddhadeb Chakrabarty came to Canada as a refugee from Bangladesh in 1995 and has made Kingston his home since 1997. He lives with his mother and one sister, and has two sisters in Montreal and a brother in Toronto. Buddhadeb is part-owner of Cafe India, which he opened in 2002, and is rumoured to make a "great beef madras." He is an avid currency collector ("It's a great way to learn about culture and identity") and has paper money from 168 countries. Buddhadeb is interested in politics and has volunteered in numerous election campaigns. He says he respects democracy: "democratic rights are open to all," and he likes the "freedom of Canada."

KITCHENER CENTRE

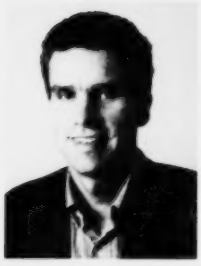
Marcia Soeda of Kitchener was born in Hamilton. She's lived in a number of places in Ontario, including Woodstock, Brampton, and Burlington. Marcia has two sons: Eric, 18, who is studying to become a pilot, and Tyler, 13, who is in grade seven. The family has a toy poodle named Bear. Marcia enjoys arts and crafts and spending time with her children. She was involved with her local community centre and participated in tree planting and playground construction activities. Marcia says she wants to be part of the Assembly "for future growth and learning" and "to become educated about electoral systems."

KITCHENER – WATERLOO

Ron VanKoughnett lives in Waterloo. He enjoys travelling and recently went to Australia as a member of Canada's duathlon (running and cycling) team, where he won the silver medal in the 60+ category. Ron and his wife have three children, all of whom were "born, raised and educated" in Waterloo. A retired high school English teacher, Ron is very busy training for the World Duathalon Championships, which will be held in Newfoundland in July 2006. He feels passionate about his "country, province and community" and is looking forward to contributing to the Assembly process. In his spare time, Ron enjoys reading, gardening, and spending time with his seven grandchildren.

LAMBTON – KENT – MIDDLESEX

Peter Soroka of Grand Bend has lived in a few places in Canada, including Manitoba and Alberta. Peter has a Bachelor's from the University of Waterloo and a Master's from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. He spent twenty-two years doing career counselling and being a cooperative education coordinator at Wilfrid Laurier University and he is now enjoying early retirement. He's acted in two student films, "The Nature of Reality" and "And No Birds Sing." He enjoys gardening, biking, skiing, and "puttering about." Peter says it's "exciting that citizens are being consulted," and he is looking forward to "learning about electoral systems and meeting other Assembly members."



LANARK – CARLETON

Bruno Steinke of Kanata (near Ottawa) is originally from Alberta. He is married and has two boys, ages five and six. Bruno has worked for the federal government for eight years, where he is presently a director of social program reform. Bruno enjoys spending time with his wife and kids and likes to go south every year. In his free time, he enjoys taking the boys to their activities, playing ultimate (ultimate frisbee), and downhill skiing. About the Citizens' Assembly, he says that "voting is the core of democracy" and he wants "to be a part of why and how votes count."

LEEDS – GRENVILLE

Fran Byers of Gananoque attended the University of Windsor, where she obtained her Bachelor of Social Work. She worked for the Children's Aid Society for twenty-three years and currently works in mental health services, offering continuing care to people living with mental illness. Fran and her husband Jim have two sons and one daughter. In her spare time, she enjoys spending time with family, cooking, gardening, and boating in the summer. Fran says she feels very honoured to represent the electoral district of Leeds – Grenville and sees the Assembly as a "chance to be part of an historic process."

LONDON – FANSHAWE

Linda Barnum was born in Stratford and now lives in London with her husband. Married for thirty-two years, Linda and William have two daughters, Melissa and Jennifer, both of whom are married. A semi-retired registered nurse who specialized in geriatrics and mental health, Linda now has more time to enjoy her hobbies, including genealogy, gardening, birdwatching, and working on the computer. She also likes spending time with her cats and dogs. Linda says she wants to be a part of the Citizens' Assembly "to learn about the electoral system." An avid traveller, Linda has been to Denmark and Venezuela, which she says was "a definite culture shock."

LONDON NORTH CENTRE

Catarina Fernandes was born and raised in London. She completed Child and Youth Counselling in Ottawa and her Honours degree in Social Sciences from the University of Western Ontario. Catarina works as a counsellor for abused women and children and is currently completing her Master's degree. She loves spending time outdoors and enjoys camping, biking, and hiking, often with her Miniature Pinscher, Jelly-Bean, and her family. She says the Assembly is "critical to ensuring we are practicing our democracy in the best way possible."

LONDON WEST

George Dennis was born in Toronto and moved to London at the age of three. He has one sister, who is studying at the University of Guelph. George has worked in construction for the last year and a half and enjoys fixing motorcycles in his spare time. He was involved in the Ontario Youth Parliament, which gives students the opportunity to participate in mock parliament, for four years. George is "pleased that the government is taking an interest in what Ontario residents think" of their electoral system. He plans to spend the summer building his own motorcycle.

MARKHAM

Andreo Cornacchia was born and raised in Markham. A student at York University, Andreo is studying biology and psychology. He describes himself as "a computer hobbyist" and is a self-taught web developer. Andreo is pleased to be part of the Citizens' Assembly and says he wants "to help bring a young person's perspective to the voting process." Andreo volunteers at a local hospital in his spare time. He is an avid reader and enjoys watching movies.

MISSISSAUGA CENTRE

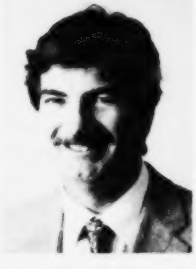
Salma Aziz was born in Karachi, Pakistan and now makes her home in Mississauga. She is married, has five children, and is looking forward to her eldest son's wedding this summer. Salma has a Bachelor of Education and taught grades 4 and 5 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. She currently conducts weekly Quran study groups for women in her neighbourhood. Salma enjoys reading religious literature, playing cards, and spending time with her family. At first, she was reluctant to put her name forward for the Assembly, but her husband encouraged her to do so. She is very excited to be working with fellow Assembly members and "would be honoured to help her community."

MISSISSAUGA EAST

Carolyn Agasild lives in Mississauga and loves to travel. Recently, she travelled to Sweden, her father's birthplace, and Estonia, her ancestral home. Carolyn has an Honours BA in Geography and English and worked in city planning before becoming a content editor for a legal publisher. She follows the news and takes a keen interest in current events. Carolyn loves sports, especially tennis and cycling, and completed the Rona-MS Bike Tour – 190 km from Brampton to Waterloo over two days. About the Assembly, she says: "I'm honoured to be selected. I welcome the opportunity to learn more about our electoral system and possible ways in which to improve it."

MISSISSAUGA SOUTH

Kam (Ellen) Chan of Mississauga was born in China and came to Canada from Hong Kong with her family twelve years ago. She has a sister and brother in Mississauga and works from home, helping her brother with his business and taking care of her niece and nephew. Ellen has done volunteer work in a hospital in Toronto and enjoys reading and watching all kinds of sports. She was drawn to the Citizens' Assembly because she "wants to learn more about Ontario and meet more people." She says that "not everyone understands electoral systems and this is a good time to learn."



MISSISSAUGA WEST

Patrick Heenan is originally from northwestern Ontario, but he has lived in Mississauga for the last twenty years. He is married and has three children, all of whom are currently enrolled in university/ studying engineering and political science. Patrick is employed in the aerospace industry. He enjoys hockey, golf, and reading, particularly in the area of politics and economics. He feels that the current political process does not encourage involvement by most citizens: "I want to see if electoral reform would help to stimulate interest and lead to increased participation during elections."

NEPEAN – CARLETON

Peter Warren of Stittsville (near Ottawa) is in his third year of university, studying history. As he told a local paper, he is "better acquainted with 16th-century monarchies than our electoral system..." but he is "excited about the opportunity to learn." Peter's father and uncle are firefighters and he would like to follow in their footsteps. He lives at home with his parents, Neil and Estelle, and his younger sister, Ashley. He enjoys snowboarding, mountain biking, rock climbing, golf, travelling, reading, and computers. Peter always thought that "there must be a way to improve the electoral system" and sees the Assembly as a "chance to do something about it, not just complain about it."

NIAGARA CENTRE

Stephanie Jones, who has lived in Niagara her whole life, joined the Citizens' Assembly because she feels that "it is our responsibility to voice our concerns and be accountable for our society." She is a professional actor and runs a non-profit theatre company, "The Essential Collective." Stephanie is taking a one-woman show across Canada and to London, England. The show, "17.5" – the time it takes to complete an Ironman triathlon before you're counted D.N.F. (did not finish) – is written by her partner, Jason. Stephanie has two daughters and enjoys soccer, running, triathlon, and reading. She recently discovered the writing of Jane Jacobs and is now a big fan.

NIAGARA FALLS

Salvación Villamil was born in the Philippines. In 1966, she moved to Canada and has lived in Niagara Falls for thirty years. She is married to Bernardo, a professional engineer. They have three children and three grandchildren. Salvación obtained her Master of Arts in Education from the Philippine Women's University and a Diploma in Reading from McGill University. Salvación is a member of the Canadian Federation of University Women. She enjoys reading, playing contract bridge, and taking cruises. She hasn't missed an election since becoming a Canadian citizen and wants "to be on this historic journey for electoral reform to achieve progress" in her adopted country.

NICKEL BELT

Richard Bowdidge immigrated to Canada from Bournemouth, England in 1956. After a brief stay in Timmins, he moved to Sudbury where he's lived ever since. Richard has been married for twenty-seven years and has two daughters. The elder is the curator of a heritage museum and the younger is completing a degree in law and justice. Richard says he wonders how he "ever found the time to work" now that he's enjoying retirement after thirty years as an editor with the *Sudbury Star*. About the Assembly, he says that "it's an interesting subject that needs a public hearing."

NIPISSING

Roland (Rollie) Gibeau has lived in North Bay for twenty years. Prior to that, he lived in London, Camp Petawawa, Deep River, Arnprior, and Saint John, New Brunswick. Married for forty-five years, Roland has a daughter and two granddaughters in Acton. He was a senior appraiser with Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation for thirty years and a commercial real estate appraiser in the private sector for thirteen years. He feels that retirement provides an excellent opportunity to make a meaningful contribution to society and sees the Citizens' Assembly as a means to that end. Rollie also volunteers with Phone Busters, a national anti-fraud centre, and in his spare time, he golfs, reads extensively, and plays piano.

NORTHUMBERLAND

Wendy Lawrence was born and raised in Port Hope, but moved to Brighton about a year ago. She lives with her youngest daughter, Katelynn, and her mother, Millie, "who is wonderful." Wendy also has a daughter, Kenzie, and a son, Kory. When she is not at work as a customer service representative with a major department store, Wendy enjoys reading, crocheting, gardening, and going for walks along the beach. About the Assembly, she says she was "interested in learning about electoral models and hopefully finding ways to improve our system," and she is "looking forward to meeting the other members."

OAK RIDGES

Patricia (Pat) Miller was born in Manchester, England and lives in Richmond Hill with her daughter, Lindsay, and her grandson, David. Pat has two sons, Leslie and Michael, four granddaughters, and three great-granddaughters. She is retired from a career in computer services, which included spending a year and a half in Germany overseeing the conversion of computer systems. Pat puts this experience to good use, for example by helping her church with their local applications. She also looks after her grandson and enjoys gardening, camping, birdwatching, puzzles, and crosswords. Pat says she is "lucky to have won a seat on the Assembly" because she has always been interested in politics and voting systems.

OAKVILLE

Laura Wells has lived in Oakville all her life, but aspires to travel. She lives with her mother, sister, and brother, as well as a dog, a cat, and three rats: Astro, Ticker, and Riley. Laura is currently completing her secondary school diploma in Toronto. In her spare time, she enjoys writing and drawing and has an interest in politics. Being selected for the Citizens' Assembly is timely for Laura, who recently completed a civics course, including a component on electoral systems. "This is such an exciting opportunity to meet different people and be immersed in the electoral process."

OSHAWA

Nancy Collins from Oshawa was drawn to the Citizens' Assembly because she is interested in learning about electoral models and "being part of such an historic event that could lead to changes in our electoral system." Nancy and her husband Lorne have a daughter and a son. When they are not busy running the pest control business they have owned for over twenty-five years, Nancy and Lorne enjoy travelling, going to the cottage, and entertaining friends.

OTTAWA CENTRE

Tara Currie of Ottawa was born in Charlottetown, P.E.I. and tries to get back to the east coast as often as she can. Tara can't wait for the Citizens' Assembly to start: "Meeting people from around the province will be amazing." She studied journalism and has worked in a variety of positions with the provincial and federal governments. Tara was recently married to Matthew and has a cat, Harper. She is a movie buff and enjoys travelling and trying new restaurants. Tara also does public relations for the Ottawa area Girl Guides of Canada.

OTTAWA – ORLÉANS

Thomas Taylor of Ottawa works for a law enforcement organization, managing a database in an administrative capacity. He has travelled throughout Europe and enjoys reading on a variety of subjects, listening to music, golfing, camping, and cross-country skiing. Thomas is interested in being "part of a group to effect history." He says that "the Citizens' Assembly is definitely unique; it's a process of citizen participation that has never been tried before in Ontario."

OTTAWA SOUTH

John Townesend of Ottawa came to Canada from London, England in 1957 and has visited every province and territory. He has been married to Faith for forty-one years and they have two "very important" cats, Milly and Molly. John is a criminologist and worked with the federal government until his retirement eleven years ago. He is active in the Christian community in Ottawa and provides care to ailing seniors. John's hobby is genealogy and he is working on a book about his family history. He has always been interested in participatory democracy and is "looking forward to the Assembly project with a passion."

OTTAWA – VANIER

Christopher Doody has always lived in Ottawa, but he is currently studying journalism at the University of King's College in Halifax. He is starting his third year in September 2006 and may be the Assembly member who has to travel the greatest distance to attend meetings. Christopher has a twin brother, Jonathan, and two younger sisters, Michelle and Siobhan. He enjoys working on his school newspaper and reading in his spare time. He believes the Citizens' Assembly will be a "great experience" and "a chance to make history."

OTTAWA WEST – NEPEAN

Carl Berger was born in Montreal and has lived in Cannington and Kitchener-Waterloo. He currently resides in Ottawa with his common-law wife of nine years. He works in information technology, specializing in IT Security. Carl says that keeping on top of what's happening in the "hacker community" is never-ending. He calls himself a "homebody" and likes to spend time working on home projects. He is drawn to the challenge of learning more about electoral systems as an Assembly member – a change from what he does now.

OXFORD

Margaret Messenger of Woodstock was born and raised in Oxford County. She is married, with two children graduating from university. Margaret teaches health care at a college and worked as an educator and nurse at a local hospital for twenty-three years. She enjoys reading, and summer activities at the cottage she bought a few years ago. Margaret is on various committees, including the Oxford County Elder Abuse Network (OCEAN), which promotes community awareness of elder abuse, and she has participated in two annual wellness days for women. Margaret says the Citizens' Assembly is "a great opportunity to be involved in something that will affect us all."

PARKDALE – HIGH PARK

Andrea Kirkham was born Ottawa, grew up in London, Ontario, and now makes her home in Toronto. She studied art and has been teaching for four years, currently art and Canadian history to grades 4-8 at a private school in Mississauga. She says she "loves it!" Andrea thinks that "it's amazing they are asking citizens what they think" and she wants "to be able to use this process" in her history class. Outside of teaching, Andrea enjoys watching movies (especially documentaries), art, reading, and music.

PARRY SOUND – MUSKOKA

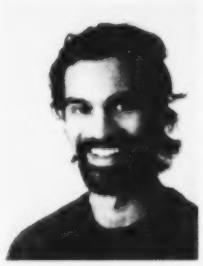
Jordan Elliott was born and raised in Lindsay. He studied business marketing in London and has lived in Muskoka for five years. He now lives outside Bracebridge with his wife and young daughter. Jordan says he is interested in representing his age group: "There are not many of us involved in politics...This is a stepping stone for me to learn more about politics and become more involved." He is a second-year carpentry apprentice and says he enjoys it very much. In his spare time, Jordan builds boats and participates in motor sports.

PERTH – MIDDLESEX

Lynda Dill says she's "always believed it is very important that all citizens be active in our government process." Lynda was born and raised in Stratford and has two grown children, Sherry and Shawn. She worked for a trust company for fifteen years and is now taking a medical transcription course. Lynda enjoys knitting, reading, and going to the theatre. She also loves participating in children's activities with her three grandchildren. Lynda is a foster parent and is an annual volunteer for the Children's Aid Christmas Program. An animal lover, Lynda's family includes three dogs, two cats, and a fish.

PETERBOROUGH

Ann Thomas has lived in Peterborough for thirty-five years and has been married for thirty-four. She and her husband have three daughters and three grandchildren. The Assembly caught Ann's interest because she isn't volunteering at the moment, but has been very active in the community in the past. To Ann, "the Assembly will undoubtedly be an educational and rewarding experience... I'm excited to be part of history in the making." Ann works in a long-term care facility in Peterborough, a job she says she loves. "Working with the residents at their favourite things, especially gardening, is truly rewarding." In her free time, Ann enjoys travelling, volleyball, golf, painting, gardening, and photography.



PICKERING – AJAX – UXBRIDGE

Raj Roopansingh was born in Toronto, but now lives in a new community in Ajax with his wife and two children, a four-year-old girl and a two-year-old boy. Raj works as a Quality Assurance Analyst and enjoys hockey, softball, and golf in his free time. He says he wants to be on the Citizens' Assembly "to make a difference" and to "be involved in an historic process that may recommend change."

PRINCE EDWARD – HASTINGS

Cornelio (Junior) Reyes of Belleville was born in the Philippines, where he obtained a Bachelor of Science in Criminology (with a major in handwriting analysis) and worked for the Manila Police Department for five years before coming to Canada in 1976. Cornelio is married to Leonila and they have three children – two sons and a daughter. He has worked as an IT Coordinator at a major retailer for fifteen years. Cornelio has travelled across Canada and enjoys bowling, curling, reading, and listening to music. He finds the Citizens' Assembly "very interesting and challenging" and wants to learn more about the electoral process.

RENFREW – NIPISSING – PEMBROKE

Maureen Grace has lived in Pembroke for fifty years. She and her husband Pat, both born in Renfrew, have six children and eleven grandchildren. Maureen worked for her local Member of Parliament for eighteen years and retired in 1992. She does volunteer work for her church and local hospital. Maureen loves miniature schnauzers and is waiting for a new one to arrive. About the Assembly, Maureen says: "I think there is a need for reform and I hope to find out that there are people out there who agree with that."

SARNIA – LAMBTON

James (Jim) Passingham was born and raised in Sarnia, but he has travelled both coasts of Canada. He and his wife Debbie have three children, three grandchildren, and a fourth on the way. Jim is a former shop teacher and used to sing and play rhythm guitar for his country and western band. Now an entrepreneur, he runs a used car lot and a lottery outlet, which Debbie operates. They enjoy camping and recently bought a used motor home which they will use to travel around southwestern Ontario. Jim says he has time to devote to something and "the Citizens' Assembly seems like an interesting adventure."

SAULT STE. MARIE

David Viitala grew up in Sault Ste. Marie, but has travelled across Canada and to parts of Europe, including Finland, Amsterdam, and Paris. He is working on his BA in psychology, and is a summer-student marketing assistant with The Canadian Hearing Society, where he also volunteers. David's hobbies include photography and skiing – both downhill and cross country – and he plays the clarinet. He says the Citizens' Assembly is exciting because "it is important for youth to become involved in politics....The better we understand how our country runs, the better we as citizens can contribute."

SCARBOROUGH – AGINCOURT

Catherine Oi Lun Shum of Scarborough was born and raised in Hong Kong and came to Canada in 1996. She is a financial analyst with a major financial services corporation. She also serves on the executive committee of her school alumni association in Toronto. Catherine's favourite pastimes include tai chi, snorkelling, swimming, and travelling. She has travelled extensively across North America, Europe, and Australasia. She is interested in learning about other electoral systems and says it "feels good to know that you can make a difference and help make something better."

SCARBOROUGH CENTRE

Donna Tichonchuk was born and raised in Toronto, and loved growing up in the Swansea area. Of her travels, Donna says her favourite spot is Vancouver, but her favourite vacation was a Mediterranean cruise "with the kids." She and her husband Michael have been married for twenty-eight years. They have a son, Andrew, and twins Laura and Kevin. Donna describes her life as "family, friends, music, books and movies." Donna volunteers on school councils and for her community association, and she works hard to keep her neighbourhood clean. She says the Assembly "is an exciting, important adventure," and she is happy to "have an opportunity to have an impact on the way things are done."

SCARBOROUGH EAST

Monica Wappel of Scarborough is drawn to "fresh new ideas" and sees the Citizens' Assembly as one of them. She is particularly interested in "how to engage younger people in the political process." Monica is the eldest of five children and wants to thank her mom for her support and encouragement. She speaks seven languages and works as a freelance translator. She has travelled widely (ninety-three countries!), but Honduras, where she taught village children to read and write Spanish and English, is her favourite place. Monica enjoys reading, writing poetry, martial arts, skiing, learning new languages, and learning about other cultures.

SCARBOROUGH – ROUGE RIVER

Al Joseph of Scarborough was born in Toronto and has also lived in Vancouver. He is happily married and has two kids – a girl, 18, and a boy, 17. Al trained in Travel and Tourism, and Web Development. He is currently going to college full time to complete a Human Resources Management program. Al has many hobbies, including cake decorating, gardening, reading, learning about Canada's vast history, and listening to music. He is "proud to serve" on the Citizens' Assembly: "Whether change happens or not, I want to be part of the process."

SCARBOROUGH SOUTHWEST

Elton Pinto came to Canada from Dubai in 1996 and now lives in Scarborough. He has a sister who is a chartered accountant. He lives with his parents and describes his family as "very, very close knit." A senior application developer with a major bank, Elton belongs to a go-karting league in Brampton. He and his girlfriend Melanie have been dating for two years. He is an avid sportsman, playing badminton, basketball, soccer, and tennis. He describes himself as "very competitive." Elton wants to be involved in the Citizens' Assembly to "give back to the community," and says he's "really excited" about the process.

SIMCOE – GREY

Elaine Pommer was born in Woodstock. She became a teacher and moved to Linwood, where she met and married Bob. She spent three years in Sudbury, where her two sons, Eric and Craig, were born. They've lived in the Collingwood area for the last thirty-one years. Elaine is a retired teacher, who still does supply work because she "enjoys working with children so much." She thinks the Assembly is "a wonderful opportunity to meet people from all areas of the province and hear their stories." She enjoys spending time at the cottage, where she can kayak, snorkel, and take walks with her cockapoo, Taffy.

SIMCOE NORTH

Georgette Amadio was born in Windsor, and has lived in Toronto, Vancouver Island, Nova Scotia, and Trenton due to her husband's career in the Canadian Armed Forces. Georgette and her husband, now retired, moved to Coldwater to be near their parents. Married for thirty-four years, Georgette has a son who lives in Lindsay and a daughter in Nelson, BC. Georgette was a night auditor – the person responsible for billing in a hotel – but now keeps busy with "homemaker duties" including gardening, caring for her beloved Bouvier, and "keeping tabs" on her nieces and nephews. She thinks the Assembly "is a great way to help everyone in Ontario."

ST. CATHARINES

Ronald (Ron) Green has lived in St. Catharines almost all his life. He will be retiring soon from his job as a city building inspector. Ron was a captain in the reserve army for thirty years and is very involved in his community. He is a member of the Knights of Columbus, a board member for St. John's Ambulance, president of the 10th Battery Association, and a member of the Royal Niagara Military Institute. He sees the Citizens' Assembly as an opportunity "to assist and continue to serve the general public." Ron enjoys slo-pitch baseball and riding motorcycles.

ST. PAUL'S

Rick Smith was born in Toronto and has lived his whole life there, with the exception of three years in Vancouver. He met his wife Claudia (who is from Panama) while vacationing in Rome. They celebrated their second wedding anniversary on the day of the selection meeting. Rick is a Senior Vice President of Information Technology for an international insurance broker. In his free time, he enjoys traveling (especially to Panama and Rome!), cycling, and photography. Rick says that helping his wife through the immigration process got him interested in how government works: "I want to see what I can do to help the electoral process."

STONEY CREEK

Susan (Sue) Tiley of Grimsby has lived in the Golden Horseshoe all her life. She and John, her husband of thirty-seven years, share a home that is over 100 years old. They have a son, Morgan, and daughter, Shane, and two granddaughters, Angie and Abby. Sue spends a lot of time with four-year-old Angie: "She teaches me a lot of things and keeps me on my toes." A retired computer programmer and information technology manager, Sue is busier than ever with woodworking classes, French-polishing antique furniture, gardening, painting, renovating her home, and keeping fit. She thought the Citizens' Assembly would be an interesting, fun, and unique experience.

STORMONT – DUNDAS – CHARLOTTENBURGH

David Proulx was born and raised in Cornwall. A licensed master plumber, David is the handyman of choice amongst his family and friends. He has five children, two young boys and three teenaged girls, who keep him very busy. A devoted husband and father, much of his spare time is spent attending his sons' lacrosse games, driving his daughters to their various social engagements, or just relaxing with his wife, Shelley. When asked about the Citizen's Assembly, he said he is "excited about the whole process" and is looking forward to "being part of history."

SUDBURY

Christine Robert was born in Barrie, but grew up in Sudbury, where she still lives and manages a busy household. She is the second of five siblings, with a brother and two sisters in Sudbury and another brother in Abbotsford, BC. Christine enjoys swimming, long walks to the beach with her dog, Thunder, reading, easy rock music, shopping, and spending time with friends and family. Christine says she wants to join the Assembly "to be a voice for citizens who don't have one."

THORNHILL

Paul Litowitz of Thornhill was born in Toronto. He has one brother, one sister, and a cocker spaniel named Tammy. Paul is finishing a Master's in Business Administration and working in the health industry. He enjoys hockey, soccer, rock climbing, and reading. He loves to travel and has spent time in parts of Europe, South America, and the US. Paul has lived in North York, Thornhill, Guelph, and Windsor and says he is looking forward to "representing our province and being part of the Citizens' Assembly process."

THUNDER BAY – ATIKOKAN

Nuala Wieckowski, a lifelong resident of Thunder Bay, lives in the countryside, which she describes as "peaceful and beautiful." She and her partner Jason have three children: Jeremy, Kianna, and Madison. Nuala is currently on maternity leave from her position as a legal secretary, and says her life is "very much about family and children." Nuala enjoys family outings, fishing, and reading. She is happy to be a part of the Citizens' Assembly because she is "very interested in learning about the electoral process."

THUNDER BAY — SUPERIOR NORTH

Pamela Patterson was born and raised in Collingwood and lived in Wasaga Beach for about six years before moving to Thunder Bay with her husband Brian. Currently working as a guest services representative at a hotel, Pamela obtained a diploma in Police Foundations and received various awards for her achievements. She is actively involved in community policing as a volunteer and plans to embark on a career in policing after the Citizens' Assembly process. She believes the Assembly is a "great learning experience" and is "honoured to represent the citizens" in her area. Pamela has two dogs, Cruiser and Swiffer, and enjoys reading, playing baseball, and going to the gym.

TIMISKAMING — COCHRANE

Harold (Hal) Willis was born in Niagara and has spent most of his life in northern Ontario. He recently moved to Iroquois Falls from Parry Sound with Dianne, his wife of twenty-four years. Semi-retired, Hal says he'd like to work as a supply teacher. He describes himself as "a news and information junkie" and thinks Ontario's electoral system "should be looked at." Hal followed the BC assembly process and says he's "very much looking forward" to getting started. He enjoys golf and all things outdoors and is a big football fan.

TIMMINS — JAMES BAY

Lise Breton of Mattice has lived in the Hearst area her whole life. She has been married for forty-six years and has five grown children and ten grandchildren. Lise is retired from a thirty-seven-year career as an elementary school teacher and principal and says "this is the right time" for her to participate on the Assembly. In the future, she might like to get involved in local politics, "behind the scenes," but for now, she is excited to learn more about electoral systems. When selected, she said she felt like she had won a million dollars. Lise keeps busy tending her beautiful flower garden, sewing, and fundraising for her parish and community centre.

TORONTO CENTRE — ROSEDALE

Mayte Darraidou is a newlywed who is proudly Basque. She loves travelling and has visited many places, including Thailand, Switzerland, Mexico, and Scandinavia. Born in Guelph, Mayte was raised in Montreal and lives in Toronto with her husband Ryan and their cat, Geo. Mayte started out as an electrical engineer, but went back to teacher's college. She teaches civics in a French immersion program in Toronto. She says she thinks the Assembly is "an opportunity to participate in a historical first in Ontario" and is looking forward to sharing what she learns with her students.

TORONTO – DANFORTH

Ekaterini Traikos of Toronto was born in Greece and came to Canada when she was twelve. She is married to Nick and they have two daughters, twenty-two and eighteen, and a son who is fifteen. Ekaterini studied Early Childhood Education and runs her own home-based daycare. She has been involved in school fundraising and enjoys cooking and outdoor activities, including swimming, picnics, and kids' soccer. Ekaterini wanted to be a part of the Citizens' Assembly so she could "speak up and be heard" and saw it as an opportunity "to connect with the community."

TRINITY – SPADINA

Garth Nichols grew up in the Beach and still lives in Toronto. He was in British Columbia when the BC Citizens' Assembly was under way, so to be involved in the Ontario Citizens' Assembly is like "winning a lotto," he says. Garth has always voted and is interested in the process of making "voting more appealing to voters." Garth is a high school teacher and rowing coach, a role he is well qualified for as he was on his university rowing team. He has volunteered at Camp Oochigeas and at Fashion Cares, a fundraiser for the AIDS Committee of Toronto. Garth is getting married in July 2006.

VAUGHAN – KING – AURORA

John Reston was born in Vancouver, BC and lives in Aurora. He and Gerry Lapointe have been married for forty-nine years and have four children (a daughter and three sons) and seven grandchildren. John says he was interested in taking part in the Assembly because he "wanted to make a worthwhile contribution to the community." A friend from his days at the University of British Columbia was on the BC Citizens' Assembly. John is a retired business owner, an avid golfer, and a member of a local golf club. He and Gerry enjoy family gatherings, travel, and spending time maintaining and improving their grounds and gardens.

WATERLOO – WELLINGTON

Bill Ritz, a long-time resident of New Hamburg, says it's a "wonderful" place to live and raise children. He and his wife Kathryn have two sons, Joe (23) and Jake (19). Bill and Kathryn own and operate a printing business. The Ritz family have been printers in New Hamburg for four generations, going back to 1855. The office is within walking distance from home, which means that Jenny, their Jack Russell terrier, often accompanies them to work. Bill loves travel, snorkelling, fishing, and reading. About the Assembly, Bill says he looks forward to learning about the process and is "excited to see where the Assembly's recommendations might take Ontario."

WHITBY – AJAX

Edward (Ted) Savelle was born in Stratford, Ontario and has lived in Whitby for twenty-two years with his wife Joan. They have two sons and one daughter. The Savelles have their own business, designing space-saving furniture for condominiums. Ted previously worked in the not-for-profit sector, including positions with the Canadian Red Cross Society and the Canadian Diabetes Association. He loves to travel and enjoys all kinds of outdoor activities: walking, swimming, golf, camping, skiing, and ice fishing. Ted once worked as an election poll supervisor and heard criticisms of the electoral process. He believes the Citizens' Assembly is "a chance to do something that will potentially improve people's perceptions of the process."

WILLOWDALE

Bryan Byong-Kuon Kim has always considered "civic participation to be very important," and is "concerned about the lack of participation in the political process." Originally from Korea, Bryan came to Canada in 1969 and has lived in the Toronto area ever since. He's been married for forty years and has two grown children and two grandchildren. A semi-retired realtor, Bryan enjoyed playing golf until the mid-80s, but then became too busy with volunteer activities to find time for the game. For the past three decades, he's devoted most of his time to supporting charitable organizations like the United Way of Greater Toronto and the National Harmony Movement.

WINDSOR – ST. CLAIR

Mary Jane McMullen was born in Windsor and has a Bachelor of Commerce from the University of Windsor. She is the middle child of five sisters and has a son, Aron, and husband, Cyril Lane. She's been a research assistant for the last eighteen years. She's traveled Canada from coast to coast. Last year's adventure was a road trip through northeast Thailand and northern Laos. She enjoys hiking and birding at Point Pelee, and motorcycle riding in Vermont and New Hampshire. She felt it was her "civic duty" to join the Assembly and wants "to be part of this historic process."

WINDSOR WEST

Marisa Squizzato was born in Italy, where she completed an accounting program before coming to Canada in 1968 as part of her efforts to improve her fluency in English. She fell in love with the country and decided to make it her home. Marisa is "pleased to be able to learn about electoral systems and provide whatever assistance" she can "during this historic process." Her husband retired last year. She's the finance supervisor at a centre that provides assistance to people who are unemployed or under-employed, but is currently on leave caring for her elderly parents. She enjoys reading and gardening and is a proud first-time grandmother.

YORK CENTRE

Thomas (Tom) Ricci of Toronto is a strategic sourcing specialist for integrated global systems procurement for a global IT company. He is married and has three daughters. Thomas is a former member of the 818 Squadron Royal Canadian Air Cadets and continues to fly. He is president and founder of Club Frecce Tricolori of North America, No. 109, which promotes aviation-related activities. Thomas was the first chairman of the organization, representing the community's views in the development of the Downsview parklands. He is interested in the Citizens' Assembly process because he feels people, especially youth, need an "incentive to participate and vote" and "there's got to be a better way."

YORK NORTH

Edmund James of East Gwillimbury was born in Germany, of Ukrainian and White Russian/Polish parents (forced-labourers), but came to Canada with his mother when he was a little over a year old. A producer and writer, Edmund is working on his second novel, *Nomads, Warriors and Shamans*. He started an entertainment company with a director/producer partner, and he is involved in his family's business, too. Edmund says the Assembly "is fascinating," and that it's an educational experience that will allow him to assist the community in a small way. He is looking forward to answering questions like, "Does it work?" and "Can it be improved?"

YORK SOUTH – WESTON

William Kwegyir-Aggrey of Toronto was born in Ghana and was arrested during the coup for voicing his opinion that "democracy is much better than military rule." He came to Canada in 1988 and studied negotiation and mediation at York University. He now works for a pharmaceutical company. Given his experience in his home country, William has developed a profound interest in democracy. He says he is proud to be involved in the Citizens' Assembly, and has always wanted to help educate people about government and the benefits of voting. William is especially interested in encouraging youth to participate in the political process: "We are part of society and we ought to contribute to it."

YORK WEST

Nathan Duru-Obisi of North York was born in Nigeria and received degrees from universities in Regina and Oklahoma. He and his wife Rosaline have two boys and a girl, with a fourth child on the way. Nathan says he is "delighted" to be part of the Assembly to improve his "political understanding of the way things are done and to address apathy in the electoral process." He was a banker for nine years, during which he held management positions including credit administration and branch manager. Nathan loves football, soccer, and singing hymns. He was involved in updating the electors' list for the last federal election and served as a Deputy Returning Officer in York West.

THE CHAIR

George Thomson is the Chair of the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform. Over his career, George has made significant contributions to public policy and citizen engagement as a lawyer, educator, judge, and deputy minister both in Ontario and for the federal government. He was a family court judge in Kingston and has spent many years working on issues affecting children and families. He also chaired a committee that reviewed Ontario's social assistance system. For much of his career, George has been a teacher. Most recently, he was the head of the organization that educates Canada's judges. George is married and has two children. He lives on Howe Island, near Kingston, Ontario.

3. PURPOSES OF THIS REPORT AND HOW TO USE IT

[It was important to document the Citizens' Assembly process every step of the way. Find out where to look in this report for the information that interests you most.]

The Ontario Citizens' Assembly was publicly funded, and the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat was committed to transparency and accountability in all aspects of the process. This report is an account of how the mandate of the Assembly was carried out, including the rationale for the organizational and administrative decisions made along the way.

Other jurisdictions have shown great interest in citizens' assemblies, but few have actually formed one. British Columbia had done so, and the Ontario Citizens' Assembly benefited greatly, throughout its work, from learning about that experience. Similarly, the Citizens' Assembly could serve as a model to be applied to the examination of other major public policy issues in Ontario or elsewhere. It was therefore important to show how it worked by documenting the process. Thus, this report is also intended to add to the body of knowledge about citizens' assemblies for the benefit of future similar initiatives.

Many people will be interested in the electoral system the Citizens' Assembly decided to recommend. Part IV provides a description of the Mixed Member Proportional system the Assembly has recommended for Ontario.

You can learn about the origins of the Citizens' Assembly in Chapter 4. If you are interested in the crucial decisions and plans that went into designing the process and preparing for the Citizens' Assembly, turn to Part II. If you want to know how the members were selected, the details of the process are set out in Chapter 6.

If your main interest is in how the Citizens' Assembly reached its decision, including what the members learned, how they consulted with the Ontario public, and how they deliberated, Part III describes these phases of the process in detail.

Those who are responsible for the communications and administrative functions involved in an initiative of this kind may find useful details throughout this report, but especially in Part V.

Finally, to learn about the techniques and criteria an independent evaluator used to monitor and evaluate the Citizens' Assembly process, turn to Chapter 14.

4. ORIGINS OF THE ONTARIO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

[How it all began.]

PREMIER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

In a news release on November 18, 2004, Premier Dalton McGuinty announced that a citizens' assembly would explore electoral reform and new ideas for electing the members of the provincial legislature. If the assembly recommended an alternative system, all Ontarians would have their say on the recommendation in a province-wide referendum.

LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH THE CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

On June 13, 2005, the Ontario Legislative Assembly passed an amendment to the *Election Act* to authorize the selection of representative bodies of electors to consider specified matters relating to democratic renewal. The amendment defined how the Chief Election Officer would carry out the selection of Assembly members.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ELECTORAL REFORM

On June 13, 2005, the Select Committee on Electoral Reform, composed of Members of Provincial Parliament from all parties in the legislature, received a mandate from the Legislative Assembly to carry out an intensive study of electoral systems. The committee examined electoral reform generally, and it considered terms of reference for the Citizens' Assembly and criteria for its composition. The committee's report was released on November 29, 2005.

See Appendix B-1, Government News Release, November 18, 2004.

Election Act, R.S.O. 1990, c. 6, as am. *Election Amendment Act, 2005*, s.o. 2005, c. 23, ss 17.7-17.9. See Appendix B-2.

The committee began its work by agreeing on the principles it would consider as it studied electoral systems:

Table 1 | Select Committee on Electoral Reform: Principles for Electoral Systems

Principle
Legitimacy
Fairness of representation
Voter choice
Effective parties
Stable and effective government
Effective parliament
Stronger voter participation
Accountability

REGULATION GOVERNING THE CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

Ontario Regulation 82/06 (the "Regulation") was made under the *Election Act* on February 3, 2006 and filed on March 24, 2006.[3] It set out the terms of reference for the Assembly, including the principles identified by the Select Committee on Electoral Reform. The Regulation also provided guidelines for Elections Ontario to follow in selecting 103 Assembly members. Fifty-two female members and fifty-one male members, including at least one Aboriginal member, were to be selected.

The Regulation set out some mandatory rules for the Assembly process and the duties of the Chair. It stipulated that the Citizens' Assembly was to make its final report and recommendation by May 15, 2007. This would allow time to prepare for a referendum, should one be needed, in conjunction with the next election date (later fixed at October 10, 2007).

MINISTER'S ANNOUNCEMENT AND APPOINTMENT OF THE CHAIR

On March 27, 2006, the Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal unveiled the plans for the Citizens' Assembly.[4]

"This marks a historic opportunity for all Ontarians to have an impact on the province's future. For the first time, citizens will participate in a full, open debate on which electoral system best serves Ontario."

– The Honourable Marie Bountrogianni, Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal, on announcing the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform (March 27, 2006)

[3] See Appendix B-3, Ontario Regulation 82/06.

[4] See Appendix B-4, Government News Release, March 27, 2006.

At the same time, the Minister announced the appointment of George Thomson as Chair. His role would be to oversee and facilitate the work of the Assembly, ensure that the members of the Assembly had appropriate educational resources, prepare rules of procedure for approval by the Assembly members, and preside over meetings of the Assembly. Although he would be a member of the Assembly, he would only vote if necessary to break a tie.

"I am really excited to be leading this province's re-examination of our electoral system. I want to invite every Ontarian to join in this inclusive, province-wide dialogue on electoral reform."

– George Thomson, on his appointment as Chair (news release, Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal, March 27, 2006)

Table 2 | Timeline: Origins of the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform

- November 18, 2004: Premier Dalton McGuinty announces plans for a citizens' assembly to examine the question of electoral reform, with a referendum to follow if the assembly recommends change.
- June 13, 2005: Legislation is passed to provide for selection of an assembly from the Permanent Register of Electors for Ontario by Elections Ontario.
- June 13, 2005: The Legislative Assembly orders the appointment of the Select Committee on Electoral Reform.
- November 29, 2005: The Select Committee on Electoral Reform submits its report, including recommendations for the terms of reference for the Citizens' Assembly.
- March 24, 2006: Ontario Regulation 82/06 is filed. The Regulation sets out the terms of reference, selection criteria, and other elements governing the Citizens' Assembly.
- March 27, 2006: Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal Marie Bountrogianni unveils plans for the Citizens' Assembly and announces the appointment of George Thomson as Chair.

PART II:
GETTING STARTED

5. PLANNING

[Nothing like this had ever been tried in Ontario. How to do it? From concepts to the smallest detail, planning was the key.]

ESTABLISHING THE ONTARIO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT

The Chair, George Thomson, established an independent Secretariat to support the operations of the Assembly. The Secretariat's key functions were to develop and deliver a comprehensive education program for the Assembly members on the nature and impact of the current and alternative electoral systems, to engage a broad range of Ontarians in a consultation process, to support and facilitate the Assembly's decision-making process, and to support the Assembly in preparing a final report for submission to the Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal.

Although the Assembly was independent from government, the Secretariat did have administrative obligations with regard to spending within the approved budget, and its operations followed government policies, directives, and guidelines for budgeting, staffing, procurement, and other administrative matters. Before the establishment of the Secretariat, the government's Democratic Renewal Secretariat had launched a preliminary website, found office space for the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat, and identified Osgoode Hall Law School as the main site for the Assembly's weekend meetings. However the rest was up to the Chair and the team he would put together.

EARLY DECISIONS

The Minister announced the appointment of the Chair on March 27, 2006, and the Regulation stated that the Assembly would make its final report by May 15, 2007. Time to design and prepare for the Assembly process and to put an administrative body in place was short. Immediately upon his appointment by the government, the Chair began to build a team and to set the Citizens' Assembly process in motion.

Ontario citizens had never before been given an opportunity to participate in a democratic exercise of this nature – the experience was new to everyone involved. Fortunately, the Secretariat team did not have to design the process in a vacuum. British Columbia had formed a Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform, which submitted its final report in December 2004. Examining the experience there was an excellent place to start.

Early on, the Chair, Executive Director Karen Cohl, and Academic Director Jonathan Rose consulted with the chair, chief operations officer, and research director of the BC citizens' assembly and with several assembly members and others involved in the BC process. All of them were extremely helpful in describing in detail how the process unfolded in BC, and they were generous in sharing the successes and challenges of their experience.

See Appendix A-2, Citizens' Assembly Secretariat Team.

The Chair's goal was to learn from the experience in BC and, taking into account the best elements of that experience and the lessons learned, add features that would create a Citizens' Assembly unique to Ontario. Each decision about the operation of the Assembly was made in that light, informed by three guiding principles he identified:

- Make it possible for the Assembly members to carry out their task successfully in the time available.

  Each member of the Assembly would be making a significant commitment of their personal time. They would be entrusted to make a recommendation on a matter of fundamental importance to Ontario's democracy. To do justice to them, and to the people of Ontario, the structure for their work and the administrative framework to support it would have to make the best use of their time and effort.

- Give the members the information and support necessary to do their important job.

  The members of the Assembly would represent a cross-section of Ontario, and they would not come with expertise in electoral systems. To be prepared to evaluate Ontario's electoral system in comparison with other systems, they would require an intensive program of learning and they would need exposure to a broad spectrum of views on the topic. All phases of their work would need support structures designed to encourage and facilitate full participation by all members. These structures would include careful design of the learning program, attention to detail in organizing the activities of the members, and effective communication to keep members actively involved and prepared at each step in the process.

- Involve as many Ontarians as possible in the process.

  The citizens selected for the Assembly would be at the centre of the process, but a significant part of their role would be to take into account what they heard from people across the province. The more people who could be engaged in the process, the more meaningful the deliberations and decision of the Assembly would be.

Elections Ontario was to undertake the selection of members between April and June 2006. Working back from the May 15, 2007 deadline for the Assembly's final report, the Secretariat team formulated a plan for the work of the Assembly:

- Secretariat staff would participate in the selection meetings to inform prospective members on what was involved and to provide the members selected with initial orientation.
- The learning phase would take place over six weekends of Assembly meetings devoted to learning about electoral systems.
- The consultation phase (overlapping with the latter part of the learning phase because of the time constraints) would give interested members of the public the opportunity to make their voices heard by participating in public meetings or by making written submissions.
- The deliberation phase would take place over six more weekends of Assembly meetings. The Assembly members would build on what they had learned about electoral systems and what they had heard from the people of Ontario and then reach a decision together.
- Finally, the Assembly members would formulate their recommendations and submit their report by May 15, 2007.

Table 3 | Timeline: Citizens' Assembly Process

Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform – Timeline

Selection Process	Learning Phase	Consultation Phase	Deliberation Phase	Final Report
May – July 2006	Sept – Nov 2006	Nov 2006 – Feb 2007	Feb – April 2007	May 15, 2007

SUPPORT FOR ASSEMBLY MEMBERS

The Secretariat team developed plans to support the Assembly members as soon as they were selected.

Members would have questions and concerns, and some of them would have specific needs that would have to be met so that they could participate fully. Also, any one member of a group as large as the Assembly might find it daunting to try to navigate to the right person within the Secretariat to deal with a particular matter. The "buddy system," an integral part of the support plan for Assembly members, was designed to meet these needs. Each of nine staff members assumed responsibility for an average of eleven electoral districts. The Assembly members selected from those districts were to become their "buddies."

Further plans to provide support to members included the creation of a database of information on the members to help meet their needs with respect to travel, and any special needs, as efficiently as possible.

Considerable thought went into planning the conduct of the Assembly meetings in a way that would support the members and take into account the various ways individual members might be most comfortable contributing to the discussion and interacting with one another. The discussion groups, the working groups and advisory committees, and the online Members' Forum are examples of planned ways to expand the range of settings in which members could contribute and express their views.

The BC citizens' assembly participants had all stayed at the same hotel during their meetings. The members and others had described the great value of that shared experience in coming together as a group and in having opportunities for informal discussion. The Chair therefore asked that all Assembly members, including those from the Toronto area, stay at the designated hotel on the weekends dedicated to Assembly meetings.

LEARNING PLAN

A comprehensive and accessible learning plan was a high priority. It had to give Assembly members a thorough foundation in electoral systems and expose them to a variety of views and perspectives, all without favouring one model over others.

This goal was reflected in the formation of the Academic Reference Group,[1] the planning for facilitators,[2] and the creation of the learning materials. Assembly members would approach their learning task with different backgrounds, education levels, and learning styles. The learning program had to be designed to accommodate all of them as well as possible. Moreover, the learning materials would be available on the Assembly's website so that the public could learn along with the Assembly. Some members of the public would want an overview; others would want to explore the topic in detail. The information and format had to accommodate these different levels.[3] The learning materials were written in plain language where possible. A document on the principles underlying electoral systems, which was a foundation for the learning phase, was focus-tested with staff from St. Christopher House, a local social service agency. Staff from this agency also served as a test audience for several lectures.

Planning included a weekend-by-weekend learning plan, including objectives,[4] specific content, and proposed materials to support each topic.

To underscore the mutual commitment to learning, the Academic Director developed a learning contract with members.[5]

PLANS FOR CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT

Throughout the process, the Secretariat developed plans and strategies to make Ontarians aware of the Citizens' Assembly process and encourage them to become involved. Citizen engagement strategies included meetings with key stakeholders and community leaders, to be held early in the process. Community and professional organizations would be contacted, as well as unions and business groups, to enlist their help in outreach to their members. The Secretariat would also make efforts to "piggyback" on existing community events to get the word out. Finally, and most importantly, the Secretariat would support the members of the Assembly in their individual outreach efforts. The Secretariat team began work early on to prepare a draft consultation plan and guide for the members to review during their first weekend meeting. A variety of communications products were also envisioned, including a backgrounder and a brochure to support initial outreach work. Chapters 9 and 13 describe citizen engagement and communications activities.

Website

The website was a key conduit for communicating with the public, making the learning materials available to the public, and reporting on the progress of the Assembly. The Secretariat took a skeleton startup site and made it an essential portal for everything to do with the Assembly process. The website was also an important way for members to communicate with one another and to have access to materials the Secretariat posted specifically for them. Chapter 13 describes the features of the website.

[1] See Appendix D-3, Terms of Reference for Academic Reference Group.

[2] See Section 1 of Part VI, Acknowledgements, for a list of the facilitators.

[3] See Appendix H-1, Citizens' Assembly Resources on the Website.

[4] See Appendix D-1, Learning Phase Objectives.

[5] See Chapter 8, page 65.

Newsletters

The Secretariat planned a public newsletter about the work of the Assembly early on. Interested members of the public could sign up to receive it by mail or email at the selection meetings, Assembly meetings, consultation meetings, or on the website. The first issue of *The Ballot* went out shortly after the selection meetings were completed. Typical issues included news on the progress of the work of the Assembly, information on upcoming events, a message from the Chair, "The Ballot Box with Dr. Rose" (where the Academic Director highlighted an interesting feature of electoral systems), contacts, and links to other information. Archived issues were available on the website and print copies were distributed in information kits at Assembly meetings. By the end of the process, *The Ballot* had over 1,500 subscribers. In addition, the Secretariat prepared a general information backgrounder, updated after each phase, for members to distribute throughout their communities.

A newsletter for members was also planned as a way to stay in touch with members between meetings. *The Post* was launched shortly after the first Assembly meeting. The newsletter typically included notes on preparing for the next meeting, a preview of upcoming events, reminders, announcements about members' activities, and member milestones such as anniversaries or personal achievements. Archived issues were available on the members-only part of the website.

PARTNERSHIPS

The Secretariat developed a number of partnerships to draw upon important areas of external expertise and to assist in citizen engagement. TVOntario, as the Assembly's media partner, worked with Seneca College to videotape Assembly meetings. TVO also built an interactive micro-site about the Assembly. The Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform (itself a partnership) carried out two projects to engage Ontario high school students and give them a means of providing their views to the Citizens' Assembly. The Social Planning Network of Ontario helped with reaching people whose voices are too often left out during a public consultation process. Students from University of Toronto Law School and Osgoode Hall Law School and political science students from York University participated in a directed learning program in which they conducted research related to citizens' assemblies and electoral reform. The Queen's University School of Policy Studies co-sponsored with the Secretariat a conference on values-based approaches to electoral reform.

EVALUATION AND MONITORING

Given the potentially historic significance of Ontario's first citizens' assembly, it was important to have a mechanism in place to monitor and evaluate the process continually, as it unfolded. The Secretariat retained the Institute On Governance as an independent evaluator to carry out the monitoring and evaluation activities.

The plan for the evaluator had two major elements. The first element was to provide continuous feedback and advice so that the Secretariat team could improve the process as the work of the Assembly progressed. The second element was to evaluate and report to the people of Ontario on how well their first citizens' assembly had worked.

At the beginning of the process and in consultation with the Secretariat, the evaluator developed a set of success factors, covering three areas upon which the monitoring and evaluation would be based:

Success Factors

- The Citizens' Assembly members are empowered to deliberate and decide
- A broad range of Ontarians engage in the Citizens' Assembly process
- The Citizens' Assembly process is seen as a model for citizen engagement and deliberation on public policy issues

The Secretariat distributed the success factors to the members before their first meeting so that they could begin their work knowing how the process would be ultimately evaluated. Chapter 14 describes the monitoring and evaluation process and the specific objectives related to the success factors.

POLICIES AND PROTOCOLS

The Secretariat team developed internal policies and protocols for matters such as disability accommodation, French language services, interaction with the Government of Ontario and political entities, and the avoidance of political activity by members of the Secretariat. Chapter 15 describes these policies.

6. SELECTION PROCESS

[How 103 randomly selected people became the Ontario Citizens' Assembly.]

Elections Ontario carried out the selection process in a series of steps, including random electronic draws, culminating in selection meetings where the final draws of names took place. Members of the Secretariat team participated in the meetings to provide information about the Assembly and remained on hand for the orientation and support of the Assembly members as they were chosen.

ELECTIONS ONTARIO APPROACH TO THE SELECTION PROCESS

Under the *Election Act* as amended by the *Election Amendment Act, 2005*, Elections Ontario was responsible for selecting the members of the Citizens' Assembly (apart from the Chair). The selection process was within the discretion of the Chief Election Officer. Once the Chair and Executive Director of the Secretariat were in place, they met with the Chief Election Officer to discuss the role the Secretariat might play in the selection meetings.

Elections Ontario officials began by researching mechanisms used in other jurisdictions that had conducted an impartial selection of citizens from the electoral roll. In particular, they studied the model used to select members for the BC Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform. Elections Ontario used that model to begin planning the selection of Ontario's Assembly members based on an impartial and transparent best-practices approach.

Since Assembly members would be selected from the list of voters, an important early step in the selection process was updating the Permanent Register of Electors for Ontario. Elections Ontario issued a public service announcement, distributed a press release, and posted information on its website. A call centre was activated so that electors could inquire about their status, and application forms for submitting revisions were made available. The call centre opened on March 27, 2006 and the deadline for adding or updating information was April 10, 2006. The list was also updated with data from Elections Canada based on the January 2006 federal election.

Criteria for the Composition of the Assembly

The Regulation specified that Elections Ontario was to select 103 members for the Citizens' Assembly. (The Chair, who was appointed, brought the total to 104.) Fifty-two members and two alternates for each of those members were to be female and fifty-one members and two alternates for each of those members were to be male. At least one member was to be a self-identified Aboriginal person. The Regulation did not specify any distribution of members by age, but did state that the composition of the Assembly was to be "a representative body of electors."

Age Cohorts

To meet the spirit of the requirement to select a representative body of electors, Elections Ontario designed the process to draw a pool of potential Assembly members representative of the age distribution in the Ontario electorate.

Starting with data from Statistics Canada on the age distribution of the entire electorate of Ontario, Elections Ontario consolidated the information into five categories of age cohorts (similar to those used in BC): 18 to 24, 25 to 39, 40 to 54, 55 to 69, and 70 and over.

Male/Female Ratio

The BC assembly had selected two representatives from each electoral district, one male and one female. Ontario was to have one representative per riding, but the assembly was to be composed of fifty-two women and fifty-one men (plus the Chair).

Elections Ontario came up with a practical way to ensure that there would be equal representation of men and women on the Assembly: fifty-two ridings would have a female representative and fifty-one ridings would have a male representative. Thus, including the Chair, there would be an even male/female ratio. An electronically administered random process divided the ridings accordingly. Then, the mailing list for each electoral district was drawn from women only or men only, according to the results of the draw of ridings.

Identifying at Least One Aboriginal Member

The Regulation specified that at least one of the 103 selected members was to be Aboriginal. The initial letter to potential members invited them to self-identify if they belonged to an Aboriginal group. Because the Regulation also required a first and second alternate from the same electoral district and of the same gender to be selected, Elections Ontario decided that any alternates from the electoral district of the self-identified Aboriginal member must also be self-identified Aboriginal persons. Only electoral districts where there were at least three positive responses from individuals self-identified as Aboriginal would be considered for the selection process to meet the Aboriginal member requirements. As a result, Elections Ontario randomly selected fifteen Aboriginal electors, representing three electoral districts, to receive invitations to a selection meeting. Those who self-identified as Aboriginal in all other electoral districts were eligible for selection, at every stage, in the same manner as other individuals.

Initial Letters

Elections Ontario structured the selection process to result in a 99% confidence rate that the initial invitation would generate at least fifteen positive responses per electoral district and also reflect the age distribution of the electorate as a whole. Elections Ontario then carried out a random electronic draw of 123,489 names from the Permanent Register of Electors.

Between April 20 and 27, 2006, Elections Ontario mailed a letter to each person on the randomly generated list, along with a brochure, produced by the Democratic Renewal Secretariat in consultation with the Chair, which described the objectives of the Assembly. Individuals who received letters had until May 12, 2006 to respond to Elections Ontario indicating their interest in participating in the further selection process. Elections Ontario received 7,033 eligible positive responses.

[1] See Appendix C-1, Initial Letter from Elections Ontario.

Invitation to Selection Meetings

From the pool of 7,033 electors who responded positively to the initial invitation, Elections Ontario randomly selected between eleven and thirteen individuals from each electoral district to receive invitations to a selection meeting. Between May 15 and May 17, 2006, Elections Ontario mailed 1,253 invitations.[1] The letter asked the recipients to contact Elections Ontario immediately to confirm their places at the selection meetings. When an individual declined the invitation, Elections Ontario randomly selected a replacement from the same electoral district and age cohort. A total of 1,196 individuals confirmed that they would participate.

Alternate Members

Two alternates for each member were selected at the same time as the member in each electoral district. None of the Assembly members selected withdrew, so none of the alternates was called upon.

Potential Assembly members had three opportunities to "opt in" – they responded to the initial letter, accepted the invitation from Elections Ontario to attend a selection meeting, and put their names in the ballot box at the selection meeting.

SECRETARIAT ROLE

Preparing the Selection Meeting Package

Potential members received two packages of information on arrival at the selection meetings – one prepared by the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat and one prepared by Elections Ontario. The Elections Ontario package included information on the selection process and a ballot and envelope. The Secretariat package was available to prospective members and public observers and contained the following materials:

- The brochure mailed with the initial letters
- The Secretariat's presentation
- A fact sheet about the Citizens' Assembly
- Questions and Answers about the Assembly's work
- A form for attendees to fill out if they wished to subscribe to the Assembly's electronic newsletter

SELECTION MEETINGS

Without exception, the selection meetings were characterized by high enthusiasm, and the spirit brought to the meetings was an inspiring beginning. The opportunity to participate in this unprecedented exercise in democracy had clearly fired the imagination of the prospective members.

[1] See Appendix C-2, Letter from Elections Ontario to Attend Selection Meeting.

"The Citizens' Assembly is a once-in-a-lifetime experience."

– Mappanar Sundrelingam, Assembly Member, Brampton West – Mississauga

Holding meetings, and making them open to the public, presented an opportunity to begin to engage the public in the Citizens' Assembly process. Moreover, people who were willing to attend a meeting for the opportunity to be selected were likely to be members with a high level of interest and commitment. Indeed, many people travelled significant distances and rearranged other plans on a weekend, just for the chance to be selected.

The invitation to participate in a public meeting, the presentations, the suspense of the draw, the immediate support for the members from Secretariat staff, and the media coverage (especially in smaller communities) – all of these elements helped to underscore the unique nature of the undertaking.

Between May 27 and July 5, 2006, Elections Ontario organized and chaired twenty-nine selection meetings across Ontario. Their staff arranged the meeting facilities and made travel arrangements for three teams of Elections Ontario officials and for the individuals invited to attend. Elections Ontario covered travel, accommodation, and incidental expenses for the potential Assembly members.

By the first selection meeting, the Secretariat was sufficiently staffed for teams of two or three to attend each of the twenty-nine meetings across the province to make a presentation, answer questions, and provide on-site support to members as they were selected. As prospective members and observers arrived, they received the Selection Meeting Package to look over while they waited for the meeting to begin. All attendees received an Elections Ontario "Citizens' Assembly selection" pen and certificate to commemorate their participation.

The meetings began with a presentation by a representative of Elections Ontario describing the selection process. The Chair or his delegate was then invited to address the meeting to explain the substantial commitment of time and effort involved in being a member. An advantage of conducting the final selection in person was the opportunity to explain the Citizens' Assembly concept, describe the role of members in detail, and answer questions where they could be heard by all. Prospective members were thus able to make an informed decision before submitting their names for selection.

After the Secretariat presentation and a question-and-answer session, Elections Ontario invited those who wished to participate to sign their ballots, insert them in the envelopes, and deposit them in the ballot box. Throughout the meetings, only a handful of people declined to enter their names. The potential members had clearly come hoping to be selected.

"People are really excited to have been selected. Even when I tell them it's a commitment of 30 to 40 hours a month, they're very keen."

– George Thomson, Chair (The Toronto Star, June 7, 2006)

When the ballots were in, the Elections Ontario representative began the draw. Suspense turned to excitement for the "winners" as the names were called, and many of those whose names were not drawn were visibly disappointed. The draw continued until one Assembly member and two alternates had been selected for each electoral district covered by the meeting.

[1] See Appendix C-3, Selection Meeting Schedule.

After each draw, Secretariat staff led the newly selected members to a designated area, took them through a preliminary orientation, interviewed them to gather information for their capsule biographies, and assured them that the Secretariat team would help and support them throughout the process. A staff member took photographs of the members to accompany their biographies on the website. Meanwhile, the new members, the Chair, and other members of the Secretariat team were available to media.

Staff immediately gave the alternates a letter from the Chair and told them that they would likely not be called upon if they had not been contacted before the first Assembly meeting.

Table 4 | Selection Process: From 8.4 Million to 103

Individuals on the Permanent Register of Electors	8.4 million
Electors who received the initial letter	123,489
Individuals who responded affirmatively	7,033
Individuals invited to selection meeting	1,253
Members selected	103

"I feel as though I've won the lottery."

– Catherine Baquero, First Assembly member selected, Beaches – East York

After the last selection meeting, the Chief Election Officer provided the list of 103 Citizens' Assembly members and the two alternates for each electoral district to the Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal. The list included first name, middle name, family name, civic and mailing address, date of birth, gender, and confirmation that each member met all eligibility criteria.

In the end, the members selected came very close to mirroring the age distribution data assembled by Elections Ontario and used as a guideline for the selection process.

Although there was no mechanism to select for other elements of diversity, the Chair hoped that the randomness of the process would yield diverse backgrounds that would reflect the Ontario population. Fortunately, this proved to be the case.

Table 5 | Citizens' Assembly Members: Statistics

Gender

52 women and 52 men

Age

18 to 24: 11 25 to 39: 23 40 to 54: 32 55 to 70: 26 70+: 12

Place of birth

Ontario: 66 Other provinces: 11 Outside Canada: 27

Countries of birth: Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, China, Croatia, Egypt, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Hong Kong, Iraq, Korea, Malta, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Serbia, Sri Lanka, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, and the United States.

Language

The members speak a combined total of 28 languages: English, French, Arabic, Aramaic, Bengali, Cantonese, Dutch, Fanti, German, Greek, Hindi, Hungarian, Ibo, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Maltese, Mandarin, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Spanish, Tagalog, Tamil, Ukrainian, and Urdu.

Occupation

The members have a wide variety of current and past occupations, including: educators, students, small business owners, editors, public servants, healthcare workers, financial sector workers, information technology specialists, artists, customer service representatives, engineers, and skilled trades workers.

Table 6 | Timeline: Selection Process

- August 2005 to March 27, 2006: Elections Ontario researches models to select citizens from the electoral roll and formulates initial selection plan.
- March 27, 2006: Elections Ontario issues press release and public service announcement calling for Ontario electors to update their information; initiates call centre to receive queries and revisions.
- Early April 2006: Elections Ontario and the Secretariat meet to discuss their respective roles in the selection process.
- April to May 27, 2006: Secretariat team prepares plans and materials for their participation in selection meetings.
- April 10, 2006: Deadline for revisions to the Permanent Register of Electors for Ontario.
- April 5 to 18, 2006: Elections Ontario updates the Permanent Register of Electors.
- April 19, 2006: Elections Ontario conducts a random draw of electoral districts to determine which ridings would be represented by women and which by men.
- April 20 to 27, 2006: Elections Ontario conducts a draw for each electoral district to generate mailing lists for initial letter and mails the letters.
- April 26 to May 12, 2006 (deadline): Elections Ontario receives and records responses to initial letter.
- May 15 to 17, 2006: Elections Ontario conducts a random selection from positive responses in each electoral district to identify individuals to receive invitations to selection meetings; invitation letters are mailed.
- May 27 to June 25, 2006: Selection meetings are held throughout Ontario.
- July 14, 2006: Elections Ontario provides list of Assembly members to the Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal.
- August 15, 2006: The Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal announces the appointment of the members of the Citizens' Assembly.

7. MEMBER ORIENTATION

[Before the selection process was over, the Secretariat team made plans to prepare the members for the task ahead and considered ideas on how to support them all the way through.]

ORIENTATION AT THE SELECTION MEETINGS

Preliminary orientation for members began at the selection meetings. Members received the Assembly Members' Package and staff members took them through each of the elements:

Chair's Welcome Letter

The Chair's letter thanked the members for their openness to learn and engage with other Ontarians, and for their commitment to the process. The letter included a number they could call with any questions or concerns.

Media Tips

Staff explained to members that the media might wish to speak to them, that day or later, and reviewed each of the media tips. For example, members were encouraged to focus on the story they wanted to tell and to avoid creating the impression that they were speaking for the whole Assembly.

May 27, 2006, Selection Meeting in Toronto, ON. Academic Director, Jonathan Rose and Catherine Baquero.

Buddy List

Where possible, staff members attended the meetings where their future buddies were to be selected. In any event, a staff member explained the buddy system and members were given their staff buddy's contact information – an immediate personal connection at the Secretariat – and were told that their buddies would be contacting them shortly.

Biography Questionnaire

The Secretariat team worked with each Assembly member to draft a short biography to be posted on the Assembly website along with the member's photo. A brief questionnaire served as a guide for the first draft. Secretariat staff assured the members that they would have an opportunity to approve their biographies before they were posted on the website.

Consent Form

Staff explained to members that by signing the consent form, they were authorizing the Secretariat to contact them, post their photographs and biographies on the website, and include them in videos and publications about the Assembly.

IMMEDIATE FOLLOW-UP

Welcome Call from the Chair

The Chair called new members within a week after the selection meeting to welcome them to the Assembly and answer any questions.

Member Biographies

The questionnaire the new members completed at the selection meetings asked about work and home life, travels, background, interests, reasons for wanting to be involved in the Citizens' Assembly, and anything else the members wanted to share about themselves. Based on their responses, staff drafted short biographies. The text went back and forth between staff and members until the members approved the content. The biographies, along with photos of the members, were posted on the website as they were completed.

Connecting Members to Media

Local media called the Secretariat for Assembly members' contact information. Staff gave out only the members' names and ridings, and then contacted the members and asked them to contact the reporters directly if they were comfortable doing so.

Initial Buddy Calls

Shortly after the selection meetings, staff made contact with the members on their buddy lists. They took the members through a questionnaire about such things as computer access and proficiency, dietary restrictions, accommodation required to meet any special needs, and preferences about communication in English or French and modes of travel. This helped staff get to know

[1] See Appendix A-1, Members of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly.

their buddies and gathered important information to assist the Secretariat in supporting the members in their work. The members' database was created based on these conversations and updated as necessary.

Buddy communication worked both ways. Members contacted their staff buddies with questions or concerns, and it was the staff member's responsibility to respond promptly. Staff checked in with their buddies periodically to talk about their progress and find out if they had any difficulties. This helped to address any developing or potential problems quickly.

There was another benefit to the buddy system: Since the staff buddies were the main contact for a group of Assembly members, the members of the Secretariat team needed to be familiar with all aspects of the work of the Assembly, not only their own areas of responsibility. This contributed to the smooth and efficient operation of the Secretariat and the atmosphere of a team effort.

FROM IMMEDIATE FOLLOW-UP TO THE FIRST MEETING

By June 25, 2006, the members of the Assembly had been selected, but the first meeting of the learning phase was not scheduled until September 9. After the immediate follow-up, contacts with members for administrative and other purposes (such as to confirm travel arrangements) continued over the intervening weeks.

Appointment Letter and Contract

Each member received a letter of appointment from the Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal. They also received a contract in the form of a Letter of Agreement to be signed and returned before the first meeting of the learning phase. The Agreement between each member and the Province of Ontario set out the terms and conditions with which Assembly members must comply and provided the details of per diem payments for their services to the Assembly.

"Getting Ready" Guide

In August, members received a guide to prepare them for the first meeting and let them know what to expect throughout the process. The package included:

- Details and agenda for the first meeting
- Travel and hotel information
- Procedures for payment of the per diem and reimbursement of expenses (including a sample expense claim form and government travel guidelines)
- What to bring to the meetings
- Tips regarding media contact
- Outline of all three phases of the Assembly's work
- Secretariat staff contact information
- Maps, a list of restaurants near the hotel, and other useful information

[1] See Chapter 15, Administration, for details.

Summer Reading

Several of the members expressed a desire to start learning about electoral systems immediately to prepare for their role in the Assembly. The Academic Director prepared a selection of reading materials, from general readings about Ontario politics and parliament to overviews on electoral systems. Staff contacted the members to ask whether they would like to have this "summer reading" and most did.

Rules of Procedure

According to the Regulation, the Chair was to propose "rules of procedure," a set of rules for how the Assembly would work together. Certain rules were mandatory, set out in the Regulation. The Assembly was to discuss, amend, and approve further rules proposed by the Chair at its first meeting. To give the members time to think them over, the Chair wrote to them at the end of July. After explaining the mandatory features of the Assembly process set out in the Regulation, he described the proposed additional rules, emphasizing a common sense approach throughout and suggesting an informal but organized way of conducting meetings. The proposed rules included the following elements:

- Provision for each Assembly weekend to include at least one open forum or question period for members to raise and discuss matters of interest to them
- Details regarding the decision-making process, including quorum and voting procedures
- Provisions for the activities of smaller discussion groups and for working groups to examine specific issues in detail and report back to the Assembly
- Rules on transparency, including which types of sessions would be open to the public and media observers and which could be conducted privately
- Provision for changing or adding to the rules

Second Call from the Chair

Starting in mid-July, the Chair contacted each of the Assembly members to touch base with them and find out if they had any questions or comments. Some members were still developing ways to make their commitment of time to the Assembly workable for themselves and their families, but all of them were very much looking forward to the first meeting.

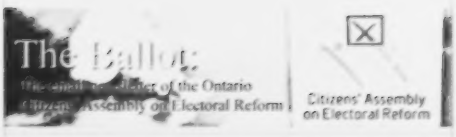
Pre-Survey by the Evaluator

Before the first meeting, the Assembly members received the first of the four detailed surveys they would fill out during the process. They returned their completed surveys directly to the independent evaluator.

July and August Issues of The Ballot

Starting in July, the Assembly's monthly newsletter, *The Ballot*, was sent to subscribers by email (or by mail to persons who did not have Internet access) and it was posted on the public website.

[1] See Chapter 14. Evaluation and Monitoring Process.



Invitation to Lieutenant Governor's Reception

Members received an invitation from the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario to attend a reception and dinner in his suite at Queen's Park and to tour the legislature during their first weekend of meetings.

L-R: The Honourable James K. Bartleman, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, Nuala Wiecowski, Pam Patterson, Carolyn Agasild | Peter Warren, Nathan Duru-Obisi, Bruno Steinke | Lieutenant Governor of Ontario

PART III:
LEARNING, CONSULTATION, AND DELIBERATION

8. LEARNING PHASE

[The members needed to make an informed decision, and they were ready and eager to rise to the challenge of learning about electoral systems. The learning team worked hard to plan and deliver an intensive program drawing on the best expertise available.]

THE LEARNING TEAM

Academic Director

The learning team was headed by the Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, associate professor of political science at Queen's University, and he was to be the primary teacher throughout the process. Another part of his role was to assemble the broader learning team to present the current state of knowledge on the subject of electoral systems and help to carry out the learning program. He recruited two Policy Analysts/Researchers to work directly with him and identified the other members of the learning team described below.

Academic Reference Group

The Academic Reference Group was composed of thirteen leading scholars on electoral systems from Ontario universities. In identifying the members of the group, the Academic Director took great care to encompass a range of expertise in specific issues having to do with electoral systems. In this way, if the Assembly members wanted to investigate aspects of various systems, they would have an external expert in those issues to turn to for more information or for a different perspective. Some members of the group attended selected Assembly meetings and gave presentations.

Unlike the Secretariat part of the learning team, the Academic Reference Group was not restricted in advocating a particular electoral system, nor were its members restricted in their public commentary on any matter having to do with the Assembly.

During preparation for the learning phase, the Academic Reference Group members provided feedback on elements of the learning plan, including:

- How to present electoral systems as consequences of principles and characteristics
- How to present electoral systems in an objective, neutral way
- The sequence of presenting the curriculum
- The design of election simulation exercises
- How to ensure a balance of guest lecturers and practitioners

[1] See Section 1 of Part VI, Acknowledgements, for a list of members of the Academic Reference Group.

From time to time, the Academic Director distributed materials to the Academic Reference Group for review; for example, the draft learning materials (including the *Billy Ballot* animation script), the *From Votes to Seats: Four Families of Electoral Systems* textbook, and the plan for coding and managing written submissions from the public. The Academic Reference Group also provided advice as needed during the learning and deliberation phases and served as a sounding board for the Academic Director on technical issues.

The Academic Reference Group had two formal meetings. The purpose of the first, on July 31, 2006, was to discuss the elements of the curriculum and to provide advice on the general approach to the learning phase. At the second meeting, on October 17, 2006, during the learning phase, they discussed progress and issues for the remainder of the learning program.

The members of the Academic Reference Group each received a modest honorarium in recognition of their contribution.

Guest Speakers

Since the Assembly would be studying electoral systems in use in many jurisdictions, the Academic Director brought in a variety of guest speakers from Canada and around the world.[1] Planning for this began early. In Weekend Three of the learning phase, noted experts came to speak about Ontario's current system. Additional experts on electoral systems spoke to the Assembly during Weekend Five of the learning phase. They reinforced the message that all electoral systems involve trade-offs. The guest speakers gave presentations in plenary sessions during the day, but they continued the discussion of the elements of electoral systems informally well into the evening. In addition to these academic perspectives, a panel of three former Ontario politicians met with the Assembly in Weekend Two of the learning phase to discuss the working life of an MPP. In Weekend One of the deliberation phase, the Chief Statistician of Canada spoke to the Assembly about how Ontario's demographics have evolved over the past sixty years and how they are likely to change in the future.

Facilitators and Discussion Groups

The learning and deliberation phases were structured so that each weekend would have lecture-style plenary sessions followed by smaller discussion groups. In plenary, the Chair, the Academic Director, or guest speakers would present ideas and concepts to the whole Assembly and respond to questions. These sessions would be followed by meetings of smaller groups of Assembly members to discuss the content in detail.

Assembly members would have individual ways of participating. Some would speak out or ask questions in the lecture setting, some would participate fully in a smaller group. Having these smaller discussion groups was an important strategy to encourage full participation by all Assembly members.

In the learning phase, the discussion groups were small (around ten people) to help reinforce understanding of the concepts covered in the plenary session. In the deliberation phase, the groups were larger (around twenty people) to expose members to a broader range of views and to build consensus. In both phases, the composition of the discussion groups changed from weekend to weekend, and the members stayed in the same group for the weekend. One of the groups was open to observers from the public, except when the members were discussing their confidential report. In configuring the groups each weekend, the Secretariat tried to ensure a blend of gender, age, and geographic representation. In addition, there was one bilingual or French-language group each weekend.

[1] See Appendix D-2, Guest Speakers.

Assembly members would come to these group discussions with questions. For the learning phase, each of the groups had a subject-expert facilitator so that the members could carry on their discussions with the benefit of immediate answers to their queries. In the deliberation phase, each group had two facilitators: one to facilitate the discussion and one to act as the subject expert.

The two Policy Analysts/Researchers also served as facilitators, and the Academic Director recruited nine others. The facilitators had advanced degrees in political science, knowledge of electoral systems, and facilitation skills. Two of the facilitators from the learning phase were not able to continue during the deliberation phase due to other commitments and the Academic Director recruited two new facilitators to take their places.

Back – L-R: Louise Hayes, Jonathan Rose, Caitlin Hayward, Mark Lyons, Michelle Lowry, Kristin Skinner, Michael Johns, Daniel Moure, Michael MacKenzie, Beth Allan; Front – L-R: Amanda Rogers, Sarah Newman, Marielle Bérubé

The Centre for Teaching and Learning at Queen's University advised the Academic Director on facilitation techniques and helped prepare a workshop for facilitators, in August 2006, on techniques to facilitate discussion and the importance of remaining neutral. In January 2007, the learning team held a one-day workshop with facilitation advisor Beth Allan and deliberative dialogue expert Mary Pat MacKinnon to prepare for the transition to the different facilitation techniques needed for the deliberation phase.

The facilitators had regular planning sessions on the Friday evening before each Assembly meeting and debriefing meetings on Sundays after the meetings. They also used an email discussion group to discuss issues between weekends and met for more comprehensive planning sessions as needed.

Before each weekend meeting, the facilitators received notes to assist them. Depending on the needs identified for the weekend, the notes included such details as objectives for each group discussion session, background information, guidelines for exercises, materials the members would be using in the group sessions, and the range of decisions the members needed to make in the sessions, if any.

When it was necessary to record key points from the group dialogue so as not to lose track of any important points, the facilitators or staff took notes, but they did not record the names of the members with their comments.

Academic Consultants

On occasion, the Secretariat engaged academic consultants to produce specific materials or to contribute expertise in matters such as describing existing, proposed, and lesser-known electoral system models, designing voting simulations, and supporting the working groups formed by the Assembly members.

Figure 1 | The Learning Team

LEARNING MATERIALS

The Secretariat produced or directed the production of a variety of learning materials for the Assembly and the public, including

- Summer reading list and package
- Annotated bibliographies and readings at introductory, intermediate, and advanced levels
- A summary of the principles and characteristics related to electoral systems
- A textbook, *From Votes to Seats: Four Families of Electoral Systems*
- Slide presentations on each learning topic
- An animation, *Billy Ballot*, explaining families of electoral systems

PREPARING FOR MEETINGS

Before each meeting, the Secretariat team prepared agendas and materials, made travel and accommodation arrangements, prepared presentations, and transported all of the necessary materials to the hotel and the meeting place. Simultaneous French/English translation and American Sign Language (ASL) interpreters would be available for all Assembly meetings.

The Executive Director served as Recording Secretary for the Assembly and prepared official meeting notes for each weekend. After the Assembly approved the notes at the next meeting, they were posted on the website. Each set of notes included the attendees, the objectives for the session, a summary of the proceedings, and a list of items to be followed up.

[1] See Section 1 of Part VI, Acknowledgements, for a list of the academic consultants.

ASSEMBLY MEETINGS

WEEKEND ONE (SEPTEMBER 9/10, 2006)

"I'm happy to be able to learn and provide whatever assistance I can during this historic process."

– Marisa Squizzato, Assembly Member, Windsor West

Objectives:

- Achieve consensus on values and procedures for working together
- Learn how different electoral systems produce different results
- Get an introduction to the learning phase
- Begin to identify the desired principles and characteristics of electoral systems

Arrival and Reception

The members arrived in Toronto on Friday. As they checked into the hotel and registered, they received their name tags, binders containing materials for the sessions that weekend, and bags and pins with the Citizens' Assembly insignia.

At the welcome reception, the members were clearly excited to be there and eager to start their work. A photographer was present to take formal portraits of the members to replace the temporary photographs taken of members at the selection meetings.

Day One

The "Buddy Breakfast"

Saturday morning began with a "Buddy Breakfast." Staff members sat with their buddies, whom they had been getting to know by telephone and email since the selection meetings.

L-R: Jon Kristman, Leana Swanson | Jean Thompson

Plenary Session: Open Forum

After welcoming the members and public observers present, the Chair talked about the unique and unprecedented nature of the Assembly, about how the Assembly members were a true reflection of the people of Ontario, and about how this way of involving citizens was a new way to practise our democracy.

He showed a brief video of greetings to the Assembly from dignitaries, individuals who were involved in support for the Assembly or whose roles directly or indirectly related to our electoral system.

The Chair described the members' commitment and enthusiasm. Referring to their diversity in country of origin, first language, age group, and past and present occupations, he emphasized that the members represented the entire province, not a specific group or electoral district.

"Working and learning with this diverse group of people from around the province with varied and fascinating backgrounds is inspiring."

– Garth Nichols, Assembly Member, Trinity – Spadina

He then described his own role as Chair: He would not be expressing a view on electoral systems and would only vote in the unlikely event of a tie. His role was to serve the Assembly, help them get to their decision, keep them to their tight schedule, and help to maintain their level of commitment and passion. He would also keep them focused on their mandate – the way we vote, how votes are counted, the number and size of ridings, and the size of the legislature – not on issues such as campaign finance, parliamentary procedures, or other matters not directly related to the electoral system itself. He envisaged a process that would get the Assembly to a final decision that all members could support, whether they voted for it or not, based on confidence that the process was fair and open and carried out with integrity and legitimacy. Finally, he urged the members to keep an open mind until the end of the process, not to take a position too early, remain open to new ideas, learn and listen before deciding, and bear in mind that decisions could be revisited – until they became final.

"It ain't over till it's over."

– George Thomson, Chair (quoting Yogi Berra)

The Chair showed another brief video of additional greetings: In keeping with the spirit of the Citizens' Assembly, five Ontario citizens encouraged and thanked the members.[7]

The video led to a discussion of the importance of the work of the Assembly, both in terms of our electoral system itself, and as a new model of citizen engagement that trusted ordinary citizens to make decisions about fundamental elements of our democratic process.

The Chair introduced the members and invited them to make an opening statement or comment, if they wished, or ask a question. As the members spoke, their pictures were projected on the large screen on the stage so that they could start to get to know one another. He then introduced the members of the Secretariat team and the facilitators who would be working with them.

[6] The Honourable Marie Bountrogianni, Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal; Patrick Monahan, Dean, Osgoode Hall Law School, York University; Lorna Marsden, President and Vice-Chancellor, York University; The Honourable Roy McMurtry, Chief Justice of Ontario; John Hollins, Chief Election Officer; Lisa De Wilde, Chief Executive Officer, TVOntario; Mariette Carrier-Fraser, Présidente de l'Assemblée de la francophonie de l'Ontario.

[7] Leslie Cunsolo, Angela Kaan, Melissa Prince, Steve Virtue, and Don Young.

The Chair reviewed the schedule for the work of the Assembly, describing the stages leading to the deadline of May 15, 2007. It would be an intense schedule, and having a break from it was important, so there would be a break over the holiday season.

The compressed schedule meant that the learning and consultation phases would overlap. The members would begin early to address the challenges inherent in the schedule: They would agree on a reasonable number of public meetings, devote time to planning for the consultation phase including creative approaches for engaging the broader public, and work together to approve the consultation guide. The Chair asked the members to read the draft consultation plan and to start thinking about how they wanted to approach the consultation phase.

The Chair explained the importance of feedback from the members and described the role of the evaluator. He also talked about the need for openness in the process, and therefore the need to record it.

In the last part of the "getting started" segment of the Chair's remarks, he made some comments and suggestions on how to make the process work:

- The members were not going to learn everything at once. The learning process would be gradual.
- If the members had difficulties, they should seek help, and do so early.
- The time for calling in alternates had passed. If a member dropped out, that member's riding would not be represented on the Assembly. He encouraged the members to stick with their commitment.
- Members should be active learners, and learn from one another.
- They should take advantage of breaks and informal time for sounding out fellow members and sharing views.

As a final comment, the Chair asked the members to consider the power of citizens coming together to learn and decide cooperatively, and to think about the vast collective experience and knowledge of the members. He reminded the members that he and the Secretariat staff could always be reached for support. As a concluding bit of advice, he suggested that they have fun along the way.

"Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed it's the only thing that ever has."

– Margaret Mead (1901–1978)

Plenary Session: Working Together – Shared Values and Rules of Procedure

As their first decision, the Assembly members were to develop and approve shared values for working together. To help the members develop their set of shared values, the Chair gave them some ideas to get them started in thinking about the attitudes and actions that support effective dialogue:

- Active listening
- Cooperation

- Respect
- Common ownership of ideas
- Value feelings
- Value conflict
- Participation

The Assembly would also discuss and approve the Rules of Procedure. The Chair reviewed the mandatory rules set out in the Regulation and the draft proposed rules and suggested that they be adopted, recognizing that, apart from the mandatory rules, they could be changed or amended as the work of the Assembly progressed.

Group Discussions: Working Together – Shared Values and Rules of Procedure

With their facilitators, each group discussed the Rules of Procedure and decided on the values most important to members of the group in working together.

"I'm convinced that in the end we'll make Ontario a better democracy as a result of our work."

– Assembly Member, from the post-Weekend One survey

Plenary Session: Report Back and Approval of Shared Values for Working Together

The Executive Director, Karen Cohl, facilitated a discussion in which the groups reported on the top values they had identified for working together and on proposed changes to the Rules of Procedure. The Assembly members reached consensus on their values for working together – their first decision as Ontario's first citizens' assembly. The Secretariat team created a poster of "Our Shared Values for Working Together," and copies were placed on the walls in the group discussion rooms throughout the Assembly process.

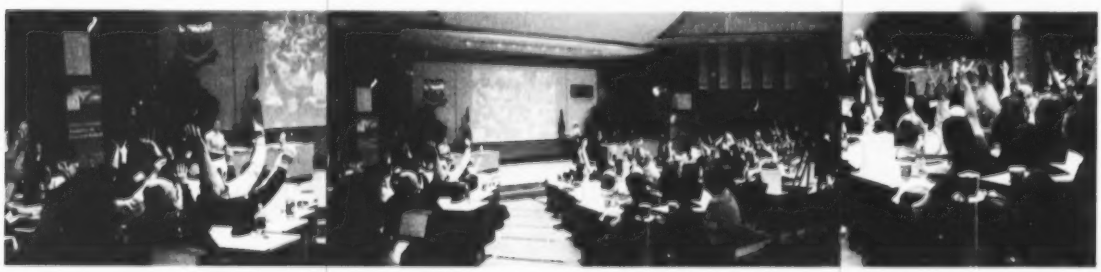


Figure 2 | Shared Values for Working Together

Comfortable Environment
• Be honest to build trust
• Remember it's okay to make mistakes
• Co-operate
• Have a positive attitude
• Have fun!
Equality
• Provide opportunity for all to participate in a way that is comfortable for them
• Be inclusive and encourage each other.
Listening & Learning from each other
• Exchange ideas
• Be open-minded; leave biases at home
• Listen actively
Commitment/Focus
• Focus on shared objectives and the common good
• Respect timelines
• Be concise and use simple language
Respect
• Respect others' opinions, differences and diversity
• Be non-judgemental; challenge the idea not the person

Plenary Session: Overview of Learning Phase and Learning Materials

The Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, gave the members an overview of the learning phase. He talked about the types of materials to be used, including textbooks, articles, and a range of other resources developed by the Secretariat specifically for members. The members would also receive the text of slides from presentations so that they could follow along and take notes.

He explained that learning would proceed from broad principles to specific electoral systems, and material would be presented in a number of different ways to accommodate diverse approaches to learning. Learning would take place in three stages: new material would be introduced, later reinforced, and finally, mastered.

The learning materials were prepared at three levels. The introductory-level materials, most of which many members had already reviewed in their summer reading or in the materials sent to them in preparation for the first meeting, assumed no prior knowledge of electoral systems. The intermediate level, including a textbook distributed at the meeting (*Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook*), introduced some basic terms and assumed some knowledge of electoral systems. At the advanced level, the materials assumed knowledge of electoral systems and examined design elements in depth.

Learning would be the foundation for consultation, deliberation, and decision-making. Electoral system concepts would be introduced and reinforced throughout the three phases so that over time, members would master them. What the members could expect from the learning team, and what the learning team expected from the members, was set out in a "learning contract," which the Academic Director reviewed during the session.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2005).

Table 7 | Learning Contract

From the learning team, the members could expect

- A balanced and fair approach
- Flexible teaching style
- Graduated learning approach
- Ongoing support to the Assembly
- Opportunities for feedback

The learning team expected members to

- Keep an open mind
- Ask questions
- Challenge ideas
- Participate fully
- Support fellow members
- Prepare for consultation

"I see engagement in the process and excitement in members. I am having fun and learning at the same time."

– Assembly Member, from the post-Weekend One survey

Plenary Session: Overview of Plans for Public Consultation

The Executive Lead, Citizen Engagement, Susan Pigott, reviewed the draft consultation plan, stressing that the draft contained suggestions only. She discussed some of the challenges associated with the consultation phase, including the short time available and the potential problems associated with holding the public meetings during the winter.

The draft plan proposed thirty public meetings over six weeks, with a one-month holiday break in the middle. Meanwhile, written submissions would also be invited. The members were encouraged to consider additional outreach strategies, including informal consultations in their own communities.

The pre-meeting materials had included a draft consultation schedule, and proposed that members would each attend at least one public meeting to listen, ask questions, and introduce the meeting if they wished. Members would have an opportunity at the next Assembly weekend to sign up to attend consultation meetings, and it was hoped that at least three members would sign up for each.

The Executive Lead, Citizen Engagement asked for six volunteers to review the draft consultation plan and the draft consultation guide in detail and then participate in a conference call with staff to discuss ideas. Finally, she reviewed the schedule for making key decisions about the consultation phase.

Plenary Session: Evaluation and Surveys

The Chair explained the purposes of the monitoring and evaluation system: to determine how well the success factors had been met. He explained the different purposes of the detailed surveys and the end-of-weekend brief surveys, and told the members about the informal, lunch-time focus groups to start the following weekend. The Chair undertook to report on the feedback from the brief surveys and focus groups at each meeting.

Evening

At Queen's Park, the Lieutenant Governor received the Assembly, and during the reception and before dinner, the members enjoyed a tour of the legislature. The tour included the Legislative Chamber, where members saw the seats that could be affected by their eventual decision.

Day Two

Plenary Session: Approval of Rules of Procedure

The Secretariat team had revised the Rules of Procedure to reflect the consensus reached by the members the day before on the non-mandatory elements, and they were formally approved by the members.

Plenary Session: Voting Simulations

The Academic Director introduced the members to the main types of electoral systems. Then, to illustrate how the results of an election can be different under different electoral systems, the Chair conducted three voting simulations. Each voting result would decide the actual snacks to be served at one of the breaks during the next meeting weekend.

[1] See Chapter 14, Evaluation and Monitoring Process.

[2] See Appendix B-5, Rules of Procedure.

Figure 3 | Initial Voting Simulation Ballots

A

Ballot: Single Member Plurality
Please choose **only one** of the following items by marking an x next to the option you prefer.

	Name of Candidate
○	Carrot Sticks (Veggie Party)
○	Oatmeal Cookies (Cookie Party)
○	Red Grapes (Fruit Party)
○	Ripple Chips (Chip Party)
○	Smarties (Candy Party)

B

Ballot: Alternative Vote
Please rank order the following items by writing the appropriate number (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) in the space provided next to each option.
You must rank **ALL** the candidates on this ballot.

Mark order of preference	Name of Candidate
	Carrot Sticks (Veggie Party)
	Oatmeal Cookies (Cookie Party)
	Red Grapes (Fruit Party)
	Ripple Chips (Chip Party)
	Smarties (Candy Party)

C

Ballot: Closed List-PR (Proportional Representation)
Please choose **ONLY ONE** of the following parties by marking an X next to the option you prefer.

	Name of Party
○	Candy Party
○	Chip Party
○	Cookie Party
○	Fruit Party
○	Veggie Party

Plenary Session: What Are Electoral Systems?

The Academic Director took the members through a discussion of what electoral systems are and how they are related to principles. He gave the members a useful analogy for associating electoral systems with desired principles and characteristics: shopping for a car. A person setting out to buy a car would first consider what was important to them in a vehicle, such as size, speed, fuel-efficiency, price, and so on. The car-buyer would then evaluate the models available based on those criteria. The system for choosing an electoral system would follow the same path. The members would first determine what they wanted from an electoral system, their principles, which would provide the basis for evaluating the various models of electoral systems. However, it would be difficult for any one electoral system to reflect all principles and characteristics fully or even to the same degree. Electoral systems involve trade-offs, or give and take, between a number of desirable principles and objectives.

Group Discussions: What Should Elections Accomplish?

The members discussed what elections should accomplish. Each group compiled a list of principles to be reviewed with the whole Assembly.

Plenary Session: Report Back on What Elections Should Accomplish

The Assembly reviewed and discussed the outcome of the group discussions. During the group discussions, the members had decided to add a further principle to the eight set out in the Regulation: simplicity and practicality.

> *– Participant at a public consultation meeting, Toronto*

WEEKEND TWO (SEPTEMBER 30/OCTOBER 1, 2006)

Objectives:

- Learn basic concepts about government, legislatures, and political parties and begin to think about their connection to electoral systems
- Learn about different types of political representation
- Discuss principles to consider in electoral system design
- Establish working groups and procedural advisory committees
- Achieve consensus on key elements of the public consultation process

Upon arrival on the evening before the meeting, members were invited to visit a consultation information table to sign up to attend public consultation meetings or contribute ideas about citizen engagement. The members received Citizens' Assembly business cards to use for community outreach as they registered.

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum

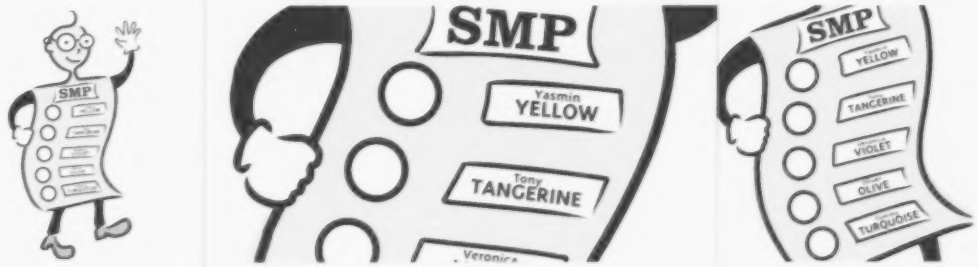
After announcements, the members approved the meeting notes for Weekend One. (They approved the meeting notes from the previous meeting at each weekend session.)

The Chair then asked for feedback on Weekend One. The comments were positive and there were some suggested improvements. The members asked for a copy of the Regulation establishing the Assembly, a riding map showing which member represented which riding, as well as population figures for each riding. They also asked for information on the roles of Secretariat staff members, and agreed that each meeting should include an open forum, with no agenda, during which members could raise any issue they wished to discuss.

The monitoring report on Weekend One revealed that the majority of members felt confident at the end of the session. Nearly one-third found the material more difficult than they had expected it to be and a few found it overwhelming. Throughout the process, with this and other feedback from the members on the learning materials, the pace of the program could be adjusted as necessary.

A number of practical suggestions had also come out of the monitoring report, including improving the efficiency of transportation between the hotel and the university, providing contact details for staff and for members in the event of emergencies, and enhancing ease of reference in the binder materials for each weekend. The Secretariat team had acted upon the suggestions.

The premiere of *Billy Ballot/Benoît Bulletin* followed, an animation produced by the Secretariat team to explain the four main families of electoral systems in simple terms. (The animation was subsequently available on the website, and later revised to include information on additional systems.)



Plenary Session: Creation of Working Groups and Advisory Committees

To help manage the short time available, the Chair proposed that the members form working groups to examine specific areas related to electoral systems in depth. He also proposed that members create advisory committees to ensure that they would have a strong voice in important aspects of the Assembly process. The Chair introduced the members to Ailsa Henderson, a political scientist from the University of Toronto, who would act as facilitator and support the working groups in their research. Following a discussion, the Assembly agreed to the creation of working groups and advisory committees.

Plenary Session: The Structure and Functions of Our Legislature

The Academic Director explained the workings of the Ontario legislature. For comparison, he discussed how the electoral system in use has affected the layout of various legislative chambers around the world and showed slides to illustrate that. He introduced key concepts about the functions of legislatures in the context of accountability, airing views and policies, passing laws, and representing the people, and he explained various models of representation.

Group Discussions: How Are We Represented?

Based on what they had learned, the members considered the question of representation in the context of principles or values, such as the relative importance of local or regional representation and ideological representation, encouraging more or fewer parties, and the degree to which the legislature reflects the diversity of the population.

See Chapter 11, Working Groups and Advisory Committees of the Citizens' Assembly.

Plenary Session: The Role and Function of Parties and Their Relationship to Electoral Systems

Following a review of comments members had made during the group discussions, the Academic Director discussed the function of political parties in Ontario, introduced the various types of parties, and explored how different electoral systems encourage the formation of different kinds and numbers of political parties.

Group Discussions: Parties and Electoral Systems

Having learned that parties have several functions, that they are a product of electoral systems (and other elements), and that party systems shape and are shaped by values and principles related to representation, the groups explored the topic further.

Focus Group

During the lunch break, the evaluator conducted the first focus group with eight Assembly members. For the first topic, the evaluator explored members' thoughts about the Secretariat's role in the selection process to help evaluate that part of the process.

Plenary Session: Panel Discussion on the Work World of the Legislature

Three former members of the Ontario legislature[1] took part in an informal panel discussion, engaging the Assembly members in a conversation about their experiences. The members gave their guests a standing ovation.

Evening: Drop-In Activities

Members had the option of taking part in computer training or sessions on expense claim information. An information table for working groups and advisory committees was also set up so that members could sign up to participate if they wished to do so.

Day Two

Plenary Session: Relating Principles to Designing Electoral Systems

The Academic Director reviewed the compiled results of the earlier discussion regarding what an election should accomplish, relating those elements to the eight principles in the Regulation and the additional principle the members had added the weekend before: simplicity and practicality.

Group Discussions: Relating Principles to Designing Electoral Systems

The members discussed the principles and their implications in greater detail.

[1] Dianne Cunningham (Progressive Conservative), Joan M. Fawcett (Liberal), and Floyd Laughren (New Democratic Party).

Table 8 | Citizens' Assembly Principles

Legitimacy	The electoral system inspires the confidence of citizens in both its process and its results.
Fairness of Representation	The legislature reflects the makeup of Ontario's population; parties hold seats in proportion to the votes they receive; and each vote carries equal weight.
Voter Choice	Voters have both quantity and quality of choice on the ballot.
Effective Parties	The system supports strong parties that can offer different perspectives.
Stable and Effective Government	The system produces strong, stable governments.
Effective Parliament	The legislature includes government and opposition parties and can perform its functions successfully.
Stronger Voter Participation	The system encourages more people to vote.
Accountability	Voters can identify decision-makers and hold them to account.
The Assembly thought it was important to add a ninth principle:	
Simplicity and Practicality	The system is practical and people can easily understand how it works.

Plenary Session: The Consultation Process

The Executive Lead, Citizen Engagement, Susan Pigott, thanked the six members who had volunteered to read the draft consultation plan and the consultation guide in detail and participate in the conference call,[1] as well the other members who communicated their ideas to her by email or in person.

The members who had participated in the conference call or otherwise made their views known were generally satisfied with the consultation plan and guide, but had offered a number of suggestions:

- The number of oral presentations per meeting should be reduced from fifteen to ten to allow more time to share information and have informal discussion.
- Additional meetings should be arranged in rural ridings.
- A toolkit to help members with outreach in their communities should be developed, such as sample speeches, points for articles, and media tips.
- The Secretariat should prepare a short, simple brochure to augment the consultation guide.

[1] Assembly members Jon Bridgman, Nancy Collins, Ronald Green, Elaine Pommer, Bruno Steinke, and John Toll.

The members were asked for feedback on the plans for consultation, their overall impressions, and suggestions for further changes. A staffed consultation "information desk" would be set up in a common area of the hotel every Friday and Saturday evening for the next three weekends so that members could check in about the consultation process generally and their own outreach plans specifically.

Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform

The members learned from guests Peter MacLeod of The Planning Desk and Taylor Gunn of Student Vote that a Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform had been organized to complement the Citizens' Assembly process. The Students' Commission was to act as the host organization and support the efforts of the two organizations.

In the first phase, 103 students (one from each Ontario riding) would gather at a five-day assembly at which they would identify their own set of principles, learn about electoral systems, and deliberate and reach consensus on a recommendation. In the second phase, through a similar process, schools throughout Ontario would be invited to register to conduct "Classroom Assemblies" using the curriculum materials provided through the project. Students would present both sets of recommendations to the Citizens' Assembly.

The Citizens' Assembly members were pleased to learn that a structured plan for outreach to young people was in place; some of them had expressed concern about finding ways to involve youth in the work of the Assembly.

WEEKEND THREE (OCTOBER 14/15, 2006)

Objectives:

- Learn about electoral systems in general and their key components
- Learn about the plurality and majority families of electoral systems
- Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of Ontario's current system in more detail
- Approve the consultation plan and guide
- Begin the work of working groups and advisory committees

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum

After the members approved the meeting notes from Weekend Two, the Chair reported on feedback from Weekend Two. The Secretariat team had acted upon several suggestions. For example, the Academic Director had sent an email to Assembly members pointing out which parts of the *IDEA Handbook* were relevant to specific discussions. The members made some further suggestions, including that the working group materials should be posted on the website in the Members' Room and that "stretch breaks" should be incorporated into the plenary sessions.

Plenary Session: Approval of Consultation Plan and Consultation Guide

The Executive Lead, Citizen Engagement, Susan Pigott, reviewed the consultation plan, now revised based on suggestions from members. The changes included increasing the number of public consultation meetings to provide more comprehensive geographic coverage of Ontario.

The Secretariat team had followed up on the members' suggestion to create a brochure version of the consultation guide, and the members had received a draft. The members had made many helpful and detailed suggestions on both documents, which were now incorporated in the revised versions. The layout had been improved and streamlined, and the content had been refined to make it more accessible and effective.

1792
That's the year we elected our first parliament.
Some people say Ontario's electoral system has stood the test of time.
1792

Members proposed further improvements to the consultation guide: The listing of Assembly members should be alphabetical by riding rather than by member to make it easier for the public to find and contact the member for each riding, and the description of the families of electoral systems should be further adjusted to ensure that the balanced, neutral tone was applied consistently to the characteristics of each electoral system. The Assembly then approved the consultation plan and guide, subject to the additional changes they had requested.

At the end of the session, Peter MacLeod provided an update on the launch of the Students' Assembly on behalf of the partners involved in the project.

See note 22

Plenary Session: Electoral Systems – What They Are

Building on what they had learned to date, the members began their first in-depth discussion of specific electoral systems. First, however, the Academic Director recapped what electoral systems are, how they reflect societal values, and the four basic families of electoral systems that would serve as the basis for the way members would think about electoral systems.[1] He reviewed the vocabulary used in discussing electoral systems, including the three fundamental components of all electoral systems: electoral formula, district magnitude, and ballot structure. These components are the foundation of any electoral system model. They would be reinforced throughout the learning phase, and by the end of the learning phase, the members would master them.

Group Discussions: Electoral Systems

The members prepared for the balance of the morning's presentations by discussing the three elements of electoral systems and the ways in which varying the elements produces different election results.

Plenary Sessions: Plurality Systems and Majority Systems

The Academic Director began his detailed presentation of the families of electoral systems with plurality systems, and after a "stretch break," covered majority systems. He described how each system works, the principles reflected in them, and the possible variations on the basic systems. Questions from the members followed each segment of the presentation.

"It was invigorating to begin learning about how votes are translated into seats in different systems around the world."

– Mary Jane McMullen, Assembly Member, Windsor – St. Clair

Group Discussions: Plurality Systems and Majority Systems

The groups discussed characteristics of plurality and majority systems.

Evening: Politics 101

As an optional evening activity for members, the Academic Director hosted a free-flowing, informal discussion of politics, which nearly one-third of the members attended. (Popular from the start, Politics 101 became a frequent feature of Assembly weekends. It steadily gained momentum, becoming increasingly dynamic with each session, and proved to be an excellent opportunity for members to discuss and debate electoral reform issues and get answers to questions.)

Day Two

Plenary Session: Principles and Characteristics of the Single Member Plurality (SMP) System

The Academic Director described Ontario's current electoral system and the features some people consider advantages and others consider disadvantages, linking these features to the Assembly's principles.

[1] *The IDEA Handbook* (see note 22) categorizes the four families as Proportional Representation (list PR and single transferable vote), Plurality Systems, Majority Systems (alternative vote and two-round system) and Mixed Systems (mixed member proportional and parallel).

Panel Discussion: Understanding Ontario's SMP System

Immediately after the plenary, a panel of two members of the Academic Reference Group and a guest expert from Nova Scotia talked about Ontario's current electoral system and answered questions from members.[1] The end-of-weekend survey revealed that the members found this exchange of different views very helpful and informative.

WEEKEND FOUR (OCTOBER 28/29, 2006)

Objectives:

- Learn about the proportional and mixed families of electoral systems
- Prepare for consultation meetings
- "Take stock"

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum

Following approval of the meeting notes from Weekend Three, the Chair reported on the survey feedback. A question regarding the Members' Room, the Members' Forum, and the use of email had been added to the brief surveys and focus group questions. Assembly member Jordan Elliott had agreed to play an advisory role in improving the use of the Members' Forum.

Plenary Sessions: Proportional Systems and Single Transferable Vote System

In his first presentation of the weekend, the Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, introduced the features of proportional systems and related their characteristics to each of the principles, including the advantages and disadvantages, as some people might perceive them. He also discussed variants on proportional systems in use in various countries. Following the group discussions, he continued with a presentation on the Single Transferable Vote system, introducing the concept of ordinal or preferential voting in proportional representation systems and achieving proportionality through multi-member districts. Again, he related these elements to the principles and discussed how some people might view them as either advantages or disadvantages.

Group Discussions: Proportional Systems and the Single Transferable Vote System

In two sessions, the groups discussed the features of these systems in detail.

Consultation Meeting Simulations

Using "scripts" prepared by the Secretariat team and facilitators, members, staff, and facilitators rehearsed public consultation meetings. The facilitators played the part of presenters, giving three sample presentations, or performed their own roles as subject

[1] Political scientists Larry LeDuc from the University of Toronto, David Docherty from Wilfrid Laurier University, and Jennifer Smith from Dalhousie University.

experts. Some Assembly members and Secretariat staff formed panels and performed the roles they would take on during consultation meetings. The members then discussed ideas for improving the process and format.

Day Two

Plenary Session: Mixed Systems

The Academic Director introduced various models for mixed systems and the concept that mixed systems combine different electoral formulas (typically plurality and proportional) in different ways producing different results. He related the elements of a variety of mixed systems to the advantages and disadvantages some people might perceive in light of the Assembly's principles.

Group Discussions: Mixed Systems

The concept of combining electoral formulas in different ways to create mixed systems was discussed further in the groups.

Plenary Session: "Taking Stock"

In a second open forum, the Chair reviewed the terms of Bill 155 (An Act to provide for a referendum on Ontario's electoral system, 2006), introduced in the legislature a few days earlier (October 24). If the Assembly recommended changing Ontario's electoral system, the proposed legislation would set the threshold for a winning referendum vote at 60% of all votes cast, plus a simple majority of more than 50% in at least 60% of the ridings. (Ontario would have 107 ridings in the next election, so 60% would be 64 ridings.)

The members were concerned about how well the public would be informed about their eventual decision should they recommend a change. They requested that the Chair ask the Government of Ontario, on their behalf, to set out its commitment and plan for public education in the event of a referendum. He undertook to do so.

The Chair then started a discussion about assessing the progress of the Assembly so far in their learning program. The members were satisfied with their progress and said that they now felt confident about the plan for the consultation phase. The Academic Director commented that the sophisticated questions put to him during plenary sessions and during the "Politics 101" sessions and to the facilitators during the group discussions revealed the members' growing understanding of the complex concepts involved in electoral systems.

"We are a Citizens' Assembly comprised of a cross section of our population, both genders, all ages and ethnicities, diverse backgrounds and quite different walks of life. And we are also obviously keen, civilized and fair people who respect each other, are open minded and welcome the views of others – an amazing result considering that we were selected randomly. Surely we must be a microcosm of the citizens of Ontario as a whole. We want the very best for all Ontarians. At the end of our deliberations we may decide to retain the status quo. But if change is the preferred option, I'm confident that we can recommend a system that we'll be proud to endorse."

– John Reston, Assembly Member, Vaughan – King – Aurora

[1] Later passed as the *Electoral System Referendum Act*, 2007, which took effect on April 18, 2007.

WEEKEND FIVE (NOVEMBER 11/12, 2006)

Objectives:

- Learn about the values or principles that led to the design of electoral systems or proposals for reform in other parts of the world
- Begin discussing how to weigh the principles

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum

After the members approved the meeting notes from Weekend Four, they discussed their views about the previous meeting. The members were satisfied with the instructional segments and agreed that the consultation simulations had been very helpful. Again, they had particularly enjoyed the "Politics 101" session. The Chair reported on suggestions taken up from the monitoring reports, including that for the deliberation phase, the Secretariat would arrange for a room at the hotel where members could gather for informal discussions in the evening.

Assembly members were also distributing copies of the consultation guide ("Citizens Talking to Citizens"), posters, and brochures in their communities. The Chair reported that written submissions were coming in, and that advertisements regarding the consultation meetings would be appearing in local newspapers shortly.

Plenary Sessions with Experts on Electoral Systems

The first day's plenary sessions were devoted to a series of presentations by academic experts in electoral systems:

- Sarah Birch, University of Essex, UK
- André Blais, Université de Montréal
- Ken Carty, University of British Columbia
- Bill Cross, Carleton University
- David Farrell, University of Manchester, UK
- Louis Massicotte, Université de Montréal and American University, Washington D.C.
- Elizabeth McLeay, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

In each segment, the panellists spoke for approximately twenty minutes, and then fielded questions from the members for a further twenty minutes.

The session began with André Blais, who discussed the general principles that underlie electoral systems. He proposed a series of questions members might ask themselves in connecting their principles with the features of various electoral systems. Bill Cross and Louis Massicotte provided insight into electoral reform processes in New Brunswick, Quebec, and Prince Edward Island. Ken Carty discussed the process and decision of the BC Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform, as well as the process under way in the Netherlands. Elizabeth McLeay examined the process by which New Zealand had undertaken electoral reform and discussed the results. David Farrell gave an overview of the electoral systems in use in established democracies, and Sarah Birch talked about the electoral systems chosen in a number of emerging democracies.

The guest speakers joined the members for dinner that evening and participated in a question-and-answer session. Many of these experts also participated in a conference on "Values-Driven Electoral Reform," held at Queen's University on November 12/13, 2006, co-sponsored by the Queen's School of Policy Studies and the Secretariat. The conference brought them together with other experts to discuss "Values in the Canadian Context," "Values in the International Context," and "Assessing Ontario's Electoral System." Assembly members Margo Bath and Nancy Collins decided to attend the conference and were asked to field questions about the Citizens' Assembly during an impromptu lunch-time panel. During the conference, the Academic Director moderated an open discussion.

Day Two

Plenary Session: Principles Exercise

The Chair and the Academic Director led a discussion about beginning to weigh the principles and determine their relative importance, bearing in mind that no electoral system can reflect all principles equally. This session was intended to further prepare the members for the consultation phase and set the stage for their deliberations.

The Chair emphasized that, although this was an appropriate time to assess the members' current thinking, their views would likely change in the course of hearing from their working groups and the public and through their discussions and deliberations. There would be no decision at this stage – this was just an exercise for "taking their temperature."

Group Discussions: Preliminary Weighing of the Principles

Following a review of the principles, the members individually ranked the importance of each principle as high, medium, or low. Members were given stickers to place on posters so that the groups could see the development of their collective thinking. The facilitators suggested that the members not rank more than three or four principles as "high." Also, in considering their rankings, they should recognize that there were different reasons why a principle might be ranked "low." For example, they might not see a close connection between the principle and electoral systems, or they might feel that all electoral systems reflected that principle in much the same way.

After ranking the principles individually, the members discussed where they agreed and disagreed and why. Then, they were given an opportunity to change their ranking as a result of the discussion. They also talked about what motivated any post-discussion changes.

Plenary Session: Report Back on Preliminary Weighing of the Principles

Members discussed their preliminary weighing of the principles and the challenges involved in prioritizing them.

"Every one of the principles matters, but you have to make a decision about which ones matter most. We can't have a system that reflects all principles equally."

– George Thomson, Chair

WEEKEND SIX (NOVEMBER 25/26, 2006)

Objectives:

- Obtain hands-on experience with ballot structures and voting methods
- Learn how changing the features of electoral systems produces different results
- Learn what must be decided when designing systems
- Hear from each working group about research findings and issues

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum

After the members approved the meeting notes from Weekend Five, the Chair opened the floor to feedback from that weekend. Members had particularly appreciated the opportunity to hear the views of a range of experts and asked for the text of their presentations. They also suggested that the facilitators make additional efforts to ensure that all members were heard from in the group discussions.

The Chair updated the members on the status of Bill 155, which would determine how a referendum on a recommendation for change would be carried out.

The members discussed the principles exercise from Weekend Five, and the Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, presented further analysis of the results based on member comments, highlighting some of the major themes emerging from the discussion and clarification of the principles.

The Chair reminded members that they would complete a brief survey on the current weekend, as usual, but they would also be given a second detailed survey to complete regarding the entire learning phase.

The consultation meetings had been under way for one week, and five members provided feedback on meetings in their communities: Joyce Hughes reported on the Brampton meeting, Margo Bath reported on Oshawa, Patrick Heenan reported on

Mississauga, Laura Wells reported on Oakville, and John Daley reported on an informal meeting he had organized in Georgetown. The Chair gave the members updated figures on the number of presenters registered for public consultation meetings and the number of written submissions received to date.

Plenary Session: Simulated Election: Mixed Systems

Heather MacIvor, a member of the Academic Reference Group, provided a summary of the basic features of mixed systems. To demonstrate the elements of the system, the members then voted in a simulation using a mixed system.

Plenary Session: Working Group Presentations

Panels from two of the members' working groups (the Women and Other Under-Represented Groups Working Group and the Political Parties Working Group) reported their findings and answered questions from their fellow Assembly members.

L-R: Maureen Grace, John Toll, Catherine Baquero | Back – Stephanie Jones; Front – L-R: Tamara Fick, Ann Thomas, Darcie Beckley, Melinda Selmys, Mary Jane McMullen, Margaret Messenger, Bryan Byong-Kuon Kim, Catarina Fernandes

Plenary Session: Mixed Systems: Simulated Election Results

Policy Analyst and Researcher Michael MacKenzie revealed the mixed system voting simulation results and explained the counting process and the formula used to determine the winners.

Plenary Session: Mixed Systems: Other Variables

The Academic Director demonstrated how changing some of the design decisions to reflect a particular principle or value changes the results.

"Like a Rubik's Cube, an electoral system comprises different components. If you move one element, it affects another. Unlike a Rubik's Cube, there is no perfect answer. When you change one variable in a system, you need to look at how it affects the others."

– Jonathan Rose, Academic Director

Assembly members Darcie Beckley, Catarina Fernandes, Tamara Fick, Stephanie Jones, Bryan Byong-Kuon Kim, Mary Jane McMullen, Melinda Selmys, and Ann Thomas.

Assembly members Catherine Baquero, Maureen Grace, John Toll, and Peter Warren.

Group Discussions: Mixed Systems

The members discussed how the voting simulations and the possible variables affected their views of mixed systems.

Plenary Session: Simulated Election: Single Transferable Vote

Heather MacIvor gave Assembly members a summary of the basic features of a Single Transferable Vote (STV) system, and the members voted in a simulation using STV.

Evening

At the end of the day's instruction program, the members posed for a group photo.

This was the final evening of the formal learning program. The Secretariat team had organized a special reception and dinner to mark the occasion, to which members could invite a guest. At the dinner, each member was called to the stage to receive a certificate for completing the learning program from the Academic Director. Photographer Ben Li had compiled a video of Assembly activities during the learning phase for the occasion.

L-R: George Thomson, Lise Breton, Donald Brickett, Tara Currie, Chris Doody, Maureen Grace, David Proulx, Bruno Steinke, Jonathan Rose, Roxanne Taillon, David Viitalla, John Townesend | L-R: George Thomson, Laura Antonio, Jon Bridgman, Al Joseph, Bryan Byong-Kuon Kim, Andrea Kirkham, William Kwegyir-Aggrey, Catherine Shum, Donna Tichonchuk, Jonathan Rose, Monica Wappel | L-R: George Thomson, Elsayed Abdelaal, Dianne Carey, Buddhadeb Chakrabarty, Julia Craner, Jordan Elliott, Roland Gibeau, Jerrold Labrecque, Cornelio Reyes, Jonathan Rose, Bill Ritz, Ron VanKoughnett, Marcia Soeda | L-R: George Thomson, Christine Robert

Day Two

Plenary Session: Single Transferable Vote: Simulated Election Results

Policy Analyst and Researcher Mark Lyons revealed the STV voting simulation results and explained the counting process and formula used to determine winners. The Academic Director showed how changing certain design decisions produces different results.

Group Discussions: Single Transferable Vote

The members discussed how the additional information about STV from the previous day and the results of the voting simulation had affected their views.

Plenary Session: Working Group Presentations

Panels from two of the members' working groups (the Stable and Effective Government Working Group [1] and the Geographic Representation Working Group [2]) presented their findings and fielded questions from the Assembly.

[1] Assembly members Rosemarie Arsenault, Taylor Gilbert, Patrick Heenan, and Susan Tiley.

[2] Assembly members Lise Breton, Donald Brickett, Julia Craner, Christopher Doody, Ronald Green, and John Townesend.

L-R: Lise Breton, Julia Craner, Ron Green, Donald Brickett, Chris Doody, John Townesend | L-R: Rose Arsenault, Taylor Gilbert, Sue Tiley, Patrick Heenan

In the course of one of the detailed surveys, the members were asked what part of the process they had enjoyed the most. An overwhelming number of members mentioned "learning" in their answers. Many members expressed their appreciation for the efforts of the learning team and for the support they had received during the learning process from the Secretariat and from their fellow members.

Table 9 | Assembly Members' Commitment to Learning

The Learning Phase

Weekend meetings attended: 6
Hours spent learning from/interacting with former Ontario MPPs and guest lecturers: 11
Textbooks used: 3
Documents received: 70+
Hours spent in lectures and group discussion each weekend, on average: 10+
Classroom hours in the learning phase: 60+
Classroom hours in a typical university course: 40
Hours between meetings spent reading, researching, discussing online with fellow members, meeting informally with Ontarians: countless

9. CONSULTATION PHASE

[The Assembly members knew that they had to choose the best electoral system for all of Ontario. They had to know what other Ontarians were thinking and needed to get as many people as possible involved in this unprecedented conversation.]

GOALS AND CHALLENGES

The goal of the consultation phase was to hear the broadest possible range of public views in the time available. The time constraints meant that the schedule for the meetings had to be ambitious. In most cases, two meetings were held on the same evening and they often took place on four nights in one week. Added to the time pressure throughout, the consultations took place during the winter months, when there was a danger that weather might keep the public away or make transportation difficult. The weather had affected attendance, but due to unusually mild weather in January, the transportation problems were less of an obstacle than they might have been.

The Secretariat developed the "Citizens Talking to Citizens" draft consultation guide for approval by the Assembly members to help focus the public input. The guide was available in English and French, and in alternative formats such as Braille.

The consultation guide provided information about the Assembly, explained the principles and characteristics related to electoral systems, and summarized the four main families of electoral systems. It was designed to be short, accessible, and neutral in tone. It referred the reader to the learning materials on the website for more detailed information. Ways in which members of the public could participate were described. The guide also set out a series of questions, and individuals could respond to as many as they wished in communicating their views to the Assembly by the means they chose. The consultation guide provided tips for people who chose to register as presenters to help them make the most of their allotted time, such as to summarize their key points at the outset.

Table 10 | Questions for Public Consultation

	Public Consultation Questions
1	Which of the principles are most important to you? Why? Are there other principles you think are important? Why?
2	Does Ontario's current electoral system reflect the principles that are important to you? If yes, why? If no, why not?
3	Do you think Ontario should keep its current electoral system or change to a different one? If you think Ontario should change to a different system, which one do you prefer? Why? How does the system you prefer reflect the principles that are important to you?
4	Do you have any other comments or recommendations related to the Assembly's mandate?

"It is important that the Citizens' Assembly learn what matters most to Ontarians when it comes to choosing an electoral system – whether that means keeping our current system or adopting a new one."

– George Thomson, Chair (Citizens' Assembly news release, October 26, 2006)

The consultation plan had originally contemplated thirty public consultation meetings (and additional special outreach meetings). A further eleven meetings were added, some on the suggestion of Assembly members and others, particularly in Toronto, to deal with an overflow of registrations. Ultimately, the Assembly held forty-one consultation meetings[1] and four special outreach meetings.

PUBLIC CONSULTATION MEETINGS

Registration for Oral Presentations

Individuals could register to make an oral presentation at a meeting by filling out an online form, sending a request by fax, or registering by telephone. The Secretariat team allotted time for presentations at each meeting in the order the requests came in.

The guiding principle was that every effort would be made to accommodate all interested members of the public. Meetings could accommodate a maximum of approximately ten presenters. When more presenters applied than could be scheduled for a particular meeting, the Secretariat team maintained a waiting list for cancellations, tried to fit the additional applicants into another consultation meeting, encouraged them to attend the meeting and participate in the general discussion, and reminded them that they could make a written submission in any event. In some cases, one or more additional presentations were added to the schedule. The Secretariat team responded to applications within three business days.

Presenters were notified that if they wished to have their presentation appear in full on the website, they would have to provide copies to the Assembly as a formal written submission.

A total of 252 individuals pre-registered and made presentations at consultation meetings. Sixty-one of them were women. A further forty-three people registered at the meetings, of which four were women.

Of the registered presenters who gave their age ranges, just over one-third fell into the 40 to 54 age group. Individuals aged between 55 and 70 represented nearly another third. About one-fifth were aged between 25 and 39. Presenters aged under 25 and over 70 accounted for the rest.

Another 206 individuals made informal presentations after the registered presenters were done, time permitting. Many others participated in informal dialogue after the presentations.

Accommodating Members of the Public

Whether registered as presenters or not, members of the public were given an opportunity to request French language services (when the meeting was not already scheduled to be bilingual) and to indicate whether they required accommodation for a disability.

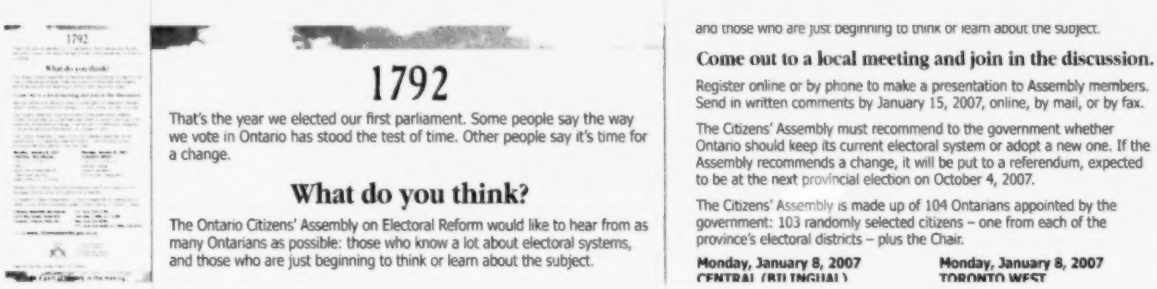
[1] See Appendix E-1, Public Consultation Meeting Schedule and Attendance.

[2] See Appendix E-4, Registered Presenters.

Although the Secretariat offered to accommodate people with disabilities at all of the public consultation meetings, one meeting was specifically arranged to engage people with disabilities. The Canadian Hearing Society, the Canadian Helen Keller Centre, the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, and the Canadian Paraplegic Association of Ontario assisted with this meeting by publicizing it to their members. In addition, the Secretariat translated the consultation guide into Braille.

Publicizing the Meetings

The members publicized meetings in their communities and also undertook additional outreach. Two weeks before each meeting, and again one week before, the Secretariat placed advertisements in local newspapers. The consultation schedule was posted on the website. Where the registration numbers were low, the local Assembly members explored other ways to encourage the community to participate. The Secretariat supported their efforts when needed, for example by contacting the local mayor's office, chamber of commerce, board of trade, and community organizations, and then sending these offices copies of the newspaper advertisement by fax or email.



1792

That's the year we elected our first parliament. Some people say the way we vote in Ontario has stood the test of time. Other people say it's time for a change.

What do you think?

The Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform would like to hear from as many Ontarians as possible: those who know a lot about electoral systems, and those who are just beginning to think or learn about the subject.

and those who are just beginning to think or learn about the subject.

Come out to a local meeting and join in the discussion.

Register online or by phone to make a presentation to Assembly members. Send in written comments by January 15, 2007, online, by mail, or by fax.

The Citizens' Assembly must recommend to the government whether Ontario should keep its current electoral system or adopt a new one. If the Assembly recommends a change, it will be put to a referendum, expected to be at the next provincial election on October 4, 2007.

The Citizens' Assembly is made up of 104 Ontarians appointed by the government: 103 randomly selected citizens – one from each of the province's electoral districts – plus the Chair.

Monday, January 8, 2007
CENTRAL (BILINGUAL)

Monday, January 8, 2007
TORONTO WEST

Distributing the Consultation Guide and Brochure

The consultation guide was available to be downloaded from the website. The Secretariat also printed copies of the guide and the brochure. Both were available to the public at all consultation meetings. Each Assembly member received copies of each for distribution in their own communities, and many members requested more. Members of the public could get copies from Publications Ontario through a toll-free telephone number. The government's public inquiry call centre responded to requests for copies, and staff sent out as many copies as time permitted. The Secretariat also sent copies to all MPPs' constituency offices with a covering letter from the Chair.

Preparation by Assembly Members for Their Role at Consultation Meetings

After the rehearsal during Weekend Four and their many discussions, feedback from members through their staff buddies and more formally through the evaluator's report indicated that the Assembly members were ready for their role at the public consultation meetings. The Secretariat team gave the Assembly members who were to attend a list of registered presenters, along with the title and brief description of the presentations if this information was available. The members also received suggested speaking notes and sample questions. The questions were designed to stimulate dialogue and elicit important information about what people were thinking and the members used them at their own discretion.

Agenda

The public consultation meetings were usually scheduled for 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. on a weekday evening. The Secretariat team prepared two versions of the agenda, one where the maximum of about ten presenters was scheduled and another for meetings with fewer presenters. Both schedules had time built in for general discussion and for questions and answers. The format was flexible, and the Assembly members were free to adapt the agenda to the needs of their meetings, for example by scheduling the break earlier or later. In small communities, the meetings sometimes took the form of an informal roundtable discussion.

The evaluator provided surveys to be distributed to members of the public who attended consultation meetings. In addition, the evaluator created an observation checklist to be completed by Secretariat staff during each meeting.

An average of three Assembly members attended each meeting. One Assembly member acted as host, and the others participated as a panel to ask questions of presenters. The Assembly members arrived at least thirty minutes in advance of the meeting and greeted the presenters and members of the public as they arrived.

Usually, four members of the Secretariat team attended the meeting: a facilitator/media contact, a subject expert who also served as note-taker to record the proceedings, a registrar to sign participants in and complete the observation checklist, and someone to deal with the logistics.

Secretariat staff arrived at least an hour in advance. They arranged the room and set up an information/registration table near the entrance, video projection equipment, and refreshments. Copies of the consultation guide and brochure, in English and French, were available at the reception table. Registration forms to receive *The Ballot* by email were also available. Attendees were asked to sign in. Where the meeting was videotaped, registered presenters were also asked to sign a consent form.

The Assembly member acting as host introduced himself or herself, as did the other members present. The host then called on the staff facilitator, who introduced the other staff members present, reviewed the process for the meeting and the rules of procedure, and introduced and showed a short video about the background of the Assembly, its mandate, the process from selection to decision, footage of the Assembly at work, and ways for the public to get involved. (The video was later reformatted and made available on the website.) This introductory segment took approximately twenty minutes.

When time permitted because fewer than ten presenters were scheduled, the *Billy Ballot* animation was shown to explain electoral systems in simple terms and stimulate discussion.

L-R: Ekaterini Traikos, Mayte Darraidou, Olivera Bakic, Garth Nichols, Catherine Baquero, Ron Green

The registered presenters came to the lectern in pre-arranged order. Presenters were allotted ten minutes each. They could use the time as they wished, but the consultation guide suggested that they speak for seven minutes and leave three minutes for questions. The facilitator kept track of the time and signalled the speakers when they were nearing the end of their time. After the registered speakers had concluded their presentations, other members of the public had an opportunity to come to the podium to make informal presentations.

A short refreshment break was scheduled for approximately half way through the meeting. This was also an opportunity for the Assembly members and staff to confer on the progress of the meeting and to reevaluate and adjust the agenda if necessary.

After the presentations, the facilitator moderated a general discussion among the attendees.

The facilitator asked the participants to complete their evaluation surveys and referred them to the website for more information on electoral systems and the Assembly process. Finally, the host Assembly member thanked everyone for coming and closed the meeting.

Post-Meeting Debriefing and Identifying Notable Presentations

The Assembly members met briefly at the close of each meeting to talk about how it had gone and what could be improved for future meetings. They also identified any presentations they thought to be particularly noteworthy, for possible inclusion in a DVD of presentations for the entire Assembly, based on a set of questions:

- As they were listening to the presentation, they thought, "I wish the entire Assembly were here to hear this!"
- The presentation was clear, brief, easy to follow, well thought out.
- It focused directly on the Citizens' Assembly's mandate.
- It had a specific perspective that might not come up at other meetings (e.g. northern perspective, urban perspective, perspective of an under-represented group).
- It explained clearly the principles most important to them in an electoral system and why.
- It clearly described a specific electoral system: the way it works, advantages, results, etc.
- The presenter seemed very knowledgeable and had significant experience with electoral systems.

Table 11 | Presenters at Public Consultation Meetings

Pre-Registered	252
Registered On-Site	43
Total Registered Presenters	**295**
Total Informal Presenters	**206**
Total	**501**

Table 12 | Registered Presenters at Public Consultation Meetings, by Gender

	Pre-Registered	On-Site	Total
Female	61	4	65
Male	191	39	230
Total	252	43	295

Records of the Meetings

The subject experts took notes on each presentation and on the general discussion. Summaries of themes that emerged from each meeting were posted on the website as soon as possible after each meeting, generally within one week.

Many presentations were recorded on video by community college students. This had the benefit of involving young people in the work of the Assembly, but it also meant that in some cases there were difficulties in obtaining high-quality footage and setting up the equipment. TVOntario assisted in connecting the Secretariat with community colleges around the province. Generally, local community colleges documented public consultation meetings held in their areas.

WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS

In response to popular demand, the deadline for written submissions was extended from January 31 to February 28.

The Assembly members read the submissions avidly, often recommending particular ones to one another. The members' Consultation Submissions Advisory Committee[18] identified notable submissions based on the same set of questions used to identify notable presentations at consultation meetings.

Secretariat staff read all submissions and summarized them. The summaries and the full submissions were posted on the website. The full-text of summaries and submitter information (name, location, submission number) were searchable by key word and by categories ("Change," "No Change," "Citizens' Assembly Process," and "Elections/Government/Other Comments"), and by the Assembly's principles.

"I applaud the work of the Assembly and look forward to hearing more about its deliberations and recommendations."

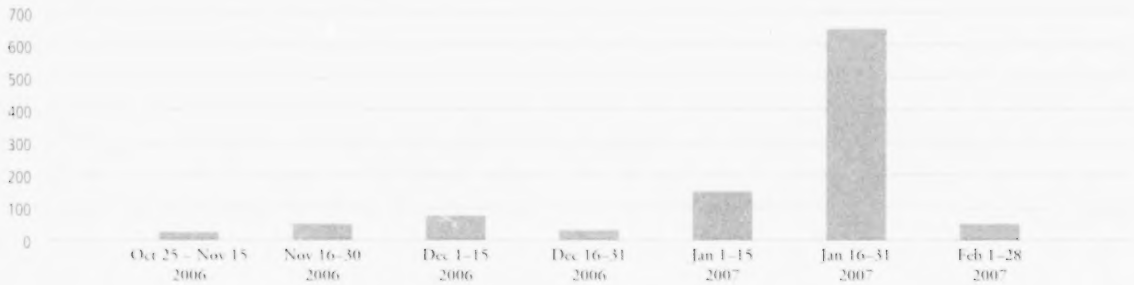
– Marianne Brender à Brandis, written submission 1250

In all, the Assembly received 1,036 written submissions – a total of more than 3,500 pages. Ninety-nine of Ontario's 103 electoral districts were heard from, in addition to some submissions from other provinces and countries. Sixty-two submissions were made on behalf of organizations, but the vast majority of the submissions came from individual Ontarians.[19]

[18] Assembly members Carl Berger, Tara Currie, Mayte Darraidou, Marie McLaren, Patricia Miller, Elaine Pommer, Marcia Soeda, Leana Swanson, and Laura Wells.

[19] See Appendix E-3, Authors of Written Submissions.

Figure 4 | Written Submissions Received



SPECIAL OUTREACH FOCUS GROUPS

In addition to the forty-one public meetings, four special outreach focus groups were arranged with the help of the Social Planning Network of Ontario (SPNO) in Peel, Sudbury, Ottawa, and St. Catharines.[9] These meetings were designed to reach people who might not ordinarily feel that they had the skills and resources to participate in public consultations, such as people who are homeless or living on low incomes and people who have only basic literacy or English skills. The focus groups were held during the day. In each community where a focus group was planned, the host organization approached key leaders of social service and community organizations to request that they distribute the flyer and invite members of their communities.

"True democracy is about everyone's voice being heard."

– Participant at a special outreach focus group

Although Assembly members did not have a formal role at the focus group sessions, some members attended as observers, and they were available to answer questions about the Assembly and different electoral systems. Staff from the Social Planning Network of Ontario showed the same opening video as was shown at the public meetings, as well as the *Billy Ballot* animation, and made a presentation about electoral systems specifically prepared for the focus groups. The staff facilitator led a general discussion and question-and-answer session and other staff took notes. The organization submitted a final report on the special outreach meetings which was distributed to the Assembly members and made available on the website.

As a further special outreach effort, the Maytree Foundation assisted the Secretariat in arranging a focus group to obtain viewpoints from the perspective of the immigrant community. The Chair, accompanied by Assembly Members Nathan Duru-Obisi and Bryan Byong-Kuon Kim and the Executive Director, gave a brief introduction to Maytree Foundation staff and fourteen participants and then invited the participants to share their perspectives.

[9] See Appendix E-2, Special Outreach Focus Group Schedule.

OUTREACH ACTIVITIES BY MEMBERS

Most Assembly members engaged in outreach activities. They met with their MPPs and with service clubs, voluntary sector organizations, and church groups in their communities. Some of them were invited to Fair Vote chapter meetings to speak about the work of the Assembly. Sometimes, members were invited to attend community meetings, but the members also convened meetings themselves.

They also connected with their local newspapers, and one member, Arita Droog, wrote a regular column for her local newspaper. Members also connected with multicultural media; for example, Thomas Ricci and Monica Wappel appeared on an Italian-language television news program.

STAKEHOLDER MEETINGS

Early in the process, the Secretariat invited key stakeholders, organizations with a specific interest in the Citizens' Assembly process, to express an interest in the work of the Assembly. L'Assemblée de la francophonie de l'Ontario; Equal Voice; Fair Vote Canada; Fair Vote Ontario; Ontario Chamber of Commerce; Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres; and Ontario Federation of Labour all participated in early discussions and engaged in outreach and public education about the initiative.

SPECIAL PRESENTATIONS

The Secretariat also connected with organizations that had expressed an interest in the Citizens' Assembly process, electoral reform or both. These organizations participated in meetings and special presentations.[41]

CONSULTATION REPORTS

The Secretariat produced two reports on the consultation phase: *What We Heard* was a summary of themes from the forty-one public consultation meetings; *What We Read* summarized the themes from the written submissions. Peter Clutterbuck of the Social Planning Network of Ontario contributed a third report summarizing the proceedings of the four Special Outreach Focus Groups.

[41] Association of Municipalities of Ontario; Borden Ladner Gervais LLP; Canada 25; Canadian Auto Workers' Union; Canadian Club; Canadian Hearing Society; C.D. Howe Institute; Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management; Conference Board of Canada; Conference on Civic and Political Participation; Don Valley West Riding Association; Federal Government Procedural Clerks; Federation of Urban Neighbourhoods; Law Union of Ontario; Massey College, University of Toronto; The Maytree Foundation; Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, Labour Market Integration Unit; Munk Centre, University of Toronto; National People's Congress of China Research Office; Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto; Ontario Secondary Teachers Federation; OPSEU Executive; ProBus, Orangeville and Dundas Chapters; Public Affairs Association of Canada; Royal Bank of Canada; Ryerson University; Social Planning Network of Ontario; Toronto Community Housing Corporation; Toronto and York Region Labour Council; and Toronto Neighbourhood Centres.

The members' Consultation Submissions Advisory Committee received an advance copy of *What We Read* for review and comment. At the start of the deliberation phase, the Assembly members received all three reports in draft form. A DVD of selected presentations identified as notable by the Assembly members was also distributed to all members.

The Secretariat produced a compilation of the three consultation reports and distributed it to Assembly members, stakeholders, and all MPPs. The reports demonstrated to members of the public who participated that they had been heard. They set the stage for the Assembly's deliberations and ultimate recommendation and, along with the Assembly's final report, the evaluation results, and this background report, they serve as a permanent record of the process.

10. DELIBERATION PHASE

[How the Assembly grappled with the issues and arrived at a decision.]

PREPARING FOR DELIBERATION

The Secretariat sought advice from experts in deliberative dialogue in the early stages of planning for the deliberation phase; however, it was important that the members themselves shaped the character of their deliberations. The deliberation plan was therefore formulated with significant input from the members' Deliberation Planning Advisory Committee.[1] The plan included the eleven major decisions the Assembly would make during the deliberation phase. The Chair reviewed the plan with the Assembly at the first weekend meeting in the deliberation phase and it was approved by the full Assembly. Thereafter, before each meeting, the committee reviewed the specific plan for the weekend in a conference call with the Chair and the agenda was modified accordingly.

Before each weekend in the deliberation phase, members received an advance package of materials related to their scheduled tasks. The packages had to be prepared between meetings, since they were based on the Assembly's progress during each previous weekend. In this way, members had the specific background information necessary to make informed decisions at each stage of the process. Each advance package included a letter from the Chair, recapping the progress the Assembly had made to date and providing a preview of the objectives and tasks for the coming weekend.

ASSEMBLY MEETINGS

WEEKEND ONE (FEBRUARY 17/18, 2007)

Objectives:[2]

- Approve the deliberation plan
- Learn about population and socio-economic trends in Ontario
- Discuss what the Assembly heard in the consultation phase and hear from the Students' Assembly
- Identify priority objectives for electoral system design
- Select an alternative system to design in Weekend Two

On Friday evening, in the discussion lounge, the Assembly members shared their experiences during the consultation phase. Another optional activity for some evenings throughout the deliberation phase was to view videos of politicians talking about electoral systems in other jurisdictions.

[1] Assembly members Matthew Certosimo, Andreo Cornacchia, Arita Droog, Thomas Ricci, Bruno Steinke, Thomas Taylor, and Jeff Witt.

[2] See Appendix F-1, Deliberation Phase Objectives.

Day One

Buddy Breakfast

Assembly members met informally with their buddies on the Secretariat team.

Plenary Session: Open Forum

The Chair welcomed the members back after the break from weekend meetings of the full Assembly. He noted that the members had formed strong, family-like connections with one another since the beginning of the process, and, like any large family, some members had experienced exciting changes in their lives and others had had to deal with sad events. Yet despite these changes, the Assembly still consisted of the original 104 members.

He acknowledged the experts in deliberative dialogue who contributed to the draft deliberation plan.[1] The Chair commented on the growing momentum over the course of the consultation phase, with an increasing flow of written submissions and more and more attention from the media. He congratulated the members on the role they had played throughout the consultation process and for the innovation and creativity they had applied to building support for discussion of the issue.

He described the challenge now facing the members. They did not know their destination (what they would decide), but they knew that they would have to arrive by May 15, 2007. How the members arrived at their decision would be just as important as the decision itself. Through the process, the members would be able to make an informed decision. He hoped that, because of the process, their final decision would be acceptable to all members, whether or not they agreed with it.

"We know the date of arrival, we just don't know the destination yet."

– George Thomson, Chair

To help prepare the members for the transition from learning to deliberation, the Chair talked about four elements of good deliberation:

1. Identify common goals and shared interests
   - Our common goal is to identify the best possible electoral system for Ontario
   - Shared interests produce win-win results
2. Avoid a fixed position, despite pre-existing views
   - Everyone arrived with views and preferences but people who are locked into a position will find deliberation difficult
   - Time pressures and other factors can drive people toward fixed positions

[1] Beth Allan of Beth Allan & Associates, Simone Chambers of the University of Toronto, Michael Fogel of the Justice Institute of BC, and Mary Pat MacKinnon of Canadian Policy Research Networks.

3. Recognize the risk of conflict

- Conflict does occur; the issue is managing conflict
- All behaviour makes sense (especially one's own!)
- Conflict arises from strong opinions and eagerness to influence others
- Our normal reactions to conflict (fight or flight) get in the way of thinking through and resolving issues
- When an issue is unresolved, it is often because conflict got in the way, not because there is no answer

4. Start with a conversation, not a debate

- All perspectives have a place at the table
- Avoid escalating a reaction, making it a personal struggle
- Move from defending a position to wanting to understand
- Deliberation is about communicating, not just talking

Throughout the deliberation phase, the Assembly would be guided by its mandate and by the members' own Rules of Procedure and their Shared Values for Working Together. The Assembly would seek consensus, and the Chair reminded members that no decision would be final until the members agreed that the time had come to make a final decision.

Deliberation, the Chair pointed out, is a process of considering different points of view and coming to reasonable, well-informed decisions. The members, individuals with different backgrounds, interests, and values, should engage in collective problem-solving, with all of their perspectives taken into account. Rather than advocating firm positions, the members would be willing to revise their preferences in light of new information, different ideas, and the opinions of fellow members. Each member would have the right to say what he or she felt would be best for Ontario.

The time pressure on the Assembly would make it difficult for members who were ready to defend a point of view to avoid taking a position early on. Yet doing so would move the discussion toward a compromise between opposing sides, which the Chair characterized as a lose-lose result. This would create conflict, and ultimately impede problem-solving. To avoid this, the members would not look for a compromise solution or settle for a minimum level of agreement. Instead, they would pursue their shared interest in reaching a public-spirited outcome over a period of time, focusing on their common goals and interests, and thus aiming for a win-win result.

The Chair acknowledged that conflict would likely occur in the course of the deliberations. The Assembly would have to manage conflict in a way that would not let it impede problem-solving. He took the members through the elements of the conflict cycle and talked about techniques to ensure that the deliberations would be true communication rather than simply talking. Strong views and an eagerness to influence others can get in the way of discussion and problem-solving, and he encouraged members with strong opinions to move from defending their positions to wanting to understand. Those who decided that they preferred our current system would nevertheless participate in designing the alternative systems in order to contribute their perspectives to the result.

The Chair then went over the techniques of good deliberation:

Listen

Question and paraphrase

Share information

Step back if necessary

Let go of the small stuff

Self-monitor, and be self-aware

Participate

The Chair encouraged members to ask open-ended, curious, non-judgmental questions of one another to help them learn about the ideas of others and to test their own assumptions. To demonstrate and ensure correct understanding of another member's point of view, the Chair suggested that it would be helpful to paraphrase the answer. This would provide an opportunity to clear up any misunderstanding. If there appeared to be an impasse, the members should be willing to pause and evaluate. Often, it would be enough to acknowledge a difference of opinion and agree to return to the issue later. That way, they would not get bogged down in a single turn of phrase or one electoral system design feature. He offered a series of questions for members to ask themselves:

Am I listening, and listening enough?

Is it my turn to talk? Is everyone participating?

Am I reacting to the point or to the person?

Did I understand him/her; what can I ask to be sure?

Are we problem-solving or taking positions?

Am I open to other points of view?

Am I willing to let others' views affect my own?

Am I testing my ideas with those who disagree?

"Courage is what it takes to stand up and speak; courage is also what it takes to sit down and listen."

– Winston Churchill (1874–1965)

Finally, the Chair urged all members to participate fully, because the Assembly would need its collective wisdom. His own goal was that, at the end of the deliberation phase, each member would be able to say, "The deliberation was fair because I was able to participate; I felt well heard, and I was well supported to make informed decisions." If each member could say that, it would be an important legacy.

The Chair then talked about the support available for members in the deliberation phase. The Academic Director would take the members through exercises designed to identify priority objectives and settle on one or more alternative electoral systems to design. He would then help the members organize their design work and the process of comparing our current system to the best alternatives. He would support their work, but he would not participate in it.

The Secretariat and learning team would continue to support the members, and the Chair encouraged the members to let their staff buddies know if they needed further support. The learning team would provide them with the materials they needed. The Chair would always be available to members, and he encouraged members to come to him early if they were concerned about the deliberation process or had trouble with the decisions the Assembly made.

Members would also continue to support one another through the online Members' Forum, the discussion lounge at the hotel, and in informal groups and discussions during weekend meetings and between meetings.

The Academic Reference Group would continue to be available to the members if they decided that outside expert opinion would be helpful or if they wanted feedback from others on their decisions. Finally, with the support of the members' Monitoring and Evaluation Advisory Committee,[45] the evaluator would now focus on how the deliberation process was going.

Before the meeting, the members had received the deliberation plan and schedule, after their Deliberation Planning Advisory Committee had reviewed and improved them. The plan set out the eleven formal decisions the Assembly would be making in the deliberation phase.

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

The schedule for making these decisions was tight, and the Assembly would not be able to back up and start again. Nevertheless, the members would be able to stop and look at their decisions at any point and revisit any decisions that were not yet final. The schedule would be revised accordingly.

The plan also described the process for designing alternative electoral systems and explained the approach for conducting the work. In a structured, supported process, the members would make a series of decisions, but they would have opportunities to review the overall design at key points.

[45] Assembly members Jordan Elliott, Al Joseph, Wendy Lawrence, and Peter Soroka.

During the deliberation phase, members would necessarily maintain a greater distance from the public. Nevertheless, one of the discussion groups would continue to be open to the public for observation. The members' participation in the "public" group would be voluntary. To allow the members in the public group to concentrate on deliberation, members of the public would observe that group discussion through a live video feed in the plenary room instead of being present in the discussion room.

All of the principles identified during the learning phase would continue to guide the members in their work. Drawing on those principles, the Assembly would identify priority objectives. Three of the principles were considered overarching principles to be kept in mind throughout the process:

Legitimacy: Any recommendation would be a proposal to the people of Ontario and must therefore have legitimacy with them. The members would have to consider what would be acceptable to their fellow citizens in terms of the degree of change, the pace of change, and the size of the legislature.

Simplicity and practicality: The members themselves had added this to the list of principles. Any recommendation they made would have to be clear and understandable, and the province should be able to implement it.

Representation by population: With some flexibility, representation by population is a legal requirement in Ontario. Within that constraint, the members would have to balance the legal principle with practical geographic considerations.

The Chair then discussed the final report of the Assembly. The report would have to be released by May 15, and it would first have to be translated, designed, and printed. The members' Final Report Advisory Committee[1] would advise on the structure, contents, and design of the Assembly's report and would also comment on the background report to be prepared by the Secretariat (this report). All members would have the opportunity to provide feedback on the Assembly's final report, and the members would review and approve it. Members could also request copies of the draft background report for review and comment.

In conclusion, the Chair expressed his confidence that the Assembly would make the best decision possible with the information available to it. He told the members that they, too, should have confidence in their own ability to decide.

Plenary Session: The Changing Face of Ontario

Ivan Fellegi, Chief Statistician of Canada, gave a presentation on how Ontario's demographic profile has evolved, highlighting population and socio-economic trends that will shape the province in the future. He discussed population growth trends, immigration patterns, education levels, the aging population, relative prosperity over time, and surveys and statistics related to voter participation. Following his presentation, he answered questions from the members.

[1] Assembly members Elsayed Abdelaal, Carolyn Agasild, Margo Bath, Matthew Certosimo, Nancy Collins, Tom Engelhart, Thomas Ricci, and Bill Ritz.

Plenary Session: Review of the Consultation Phase

"Who said we couldn't consult in six weeks, over the winter, in a province of over 12.5 million people?"

– Susan Pigott, Executive Lead, Citizen Engagement

The Executive Lead, Citizen Engagement, Susan Pigott, began her presentation with this statement and drew loud applause from the members. She reviewed the statistics for the public meetings, special consultations, written submissions, and other outreach activities.

From November 20, 2006 (the first public consultation meeting) to January 31, 2007 (the deadline for written submissions), the Assembly held forty-one public meetings in thirty-two Ontario cities, eight of which were bilingual and one of which was specifically organized for people with disabilities. They also had four focus groups for people who, for a variety of reasons, including poverty and low literacy, might not have come to the other consultation meetings. Many members had also undertaken additional, creative outreach activities.

The consultation process generated many ideas about the principles that matter to Ontarians and which electoral system they think is best. Some people who came to meetings were learning about electoral systems for the first time; others had studied them at length. Many members of the public thanked the Assembly for the work it was doing on behalf of Ontarians.

The members had received three reports: *What We Heard*, a summary of the themes arising in the public meetings, *What We Read*, a summary of the themes in the written submissions, and *A Summary Report on Special Outreach Focus Groups*. In addition, the learning team had provided summaries of several unique electoral systems, proposed or discussed in the course of the consultation process, which are not currently in use in any jurisdiction and which therefore were not included in the learning phase curriculum.

Assembly members Mayte Darraidou, David Viitala, Patricia Miller, and Marie McLaren told the Assembly about their perspectives on the public meetings, special outreach meetings, and written submissions.

Mayte Darraidou shared her observations on key themes in the consultation meetings. She had attended three meetings, with a total attendance of about 400 participants. The open discussions after the scheduled presentations allowed members to gain several perspectives in a short time. At most meetings, some people supported our current electoral system. Most presenters advocated change, but she pointed out that people who wanted change would be more likely to attend a meeting. Many presenters had emphasized the value of simplicity in an electoral system. Most presenters focused on fairer, more proportional representation, and the Mixed Member Proportional system was recommended most often. However, the Assembly's mandate was to choose the system that best suited the needs of Ontario, not to choose the most popular system.

David Viitala talked about the special outreach focus groups organized with the help of the Social Planning Network of Ontario. The focus groups had talked about the principles, and they tended to rank demographic representation highly. Many participants expressed frustration about the lack of attention to issues that concerned them, and they did not seem confident that a new electoral system would address those issues. The *Billy Ballot* animation was well received and it stimulated the discussion. A public consultation meeting at the Canadian Hearing Society, which was equipped with state-of-the-art accessibility measures for people with disabilities, attracted twenty participants. The dominant theme at the meeting was accessibility to the democratic process. People with disabilities also attended other public meetings.

Patricia Miller and Marie McLaren spoke on behalf of the members' Consultation Submissions Advisory Committee.[1] The committee had read the submissions and recommended a number of notable submissions to the Assembly. The torrent of submissions toward the end of the process had been a challenge, and the committee appreciated the summaries prepared by the Secretariat. The committee expressed gratitude to all of the members of the public who had put time and effort into preparing submissions for the Assembly.

Policy Analyst and Researcher Michael MacKenzie reviewed the statistics gathered on the written submissions. The Assembly had received 986 submissions by the January 31 deadline, totalling more than 3,500 pages. (The deadline was extended to February 28, and the Assembly received over 1,000 submissions in all.) All of the submissions made prior to the January 31 deadline had been printed out and catalogued for the members to peruse during the weekend. The submissions ranged from five words to 142 pages. Few submissions came in during October and November, and in the final two weeks before the January 31 deadline, the Assembly received more than 600.

Most submissions came from individuals, but the Assembly also received submissions made on behalf of different organizations. Of Ontario's 103 electoral districts, the Assembly received submissions from ninety-nine. A sizeable majority of submissions (79%) came from men. Mixed Member Proportional was the system most often recommended, followed by other proportional systems.

The Chair encouraged the members to continue to recommend noteworthy submissions to one another, as they had been doing in the online Members' Forum. He pointed out, however, that the submissions and presentations from the public were a piece of the puzzle, but not the determinant in the decision. They were food for thought, but in the end, it would be the Assembly's decision.

The Executive Lead, Communications, Barry Koen-Butt, gave the members a snapshot of the media coverage during the consultation phase. The Assembly had been covered on one national television program and three province-wide public affairs programs carried on ten different television stations or networks. At least twenty different radio shows had discussed the Assembly. At least fifty different newspapers had printed articles. More than 225 news articles about the Assembly were published during the consultation phase, constituting half of the media coverage (450+ articles) since the beginning of the process. That figure was increasing by six to twelve articles per day. The Assembly's website had already attracted more than 45,000 unique visitors.

The Secretariat had placed 122 advertisements for the p[illegible]c consultation meetings in print media. Almost half of participants who completed the survey said they knew about the meeting from those advertisements.

In the future, more members would be called upon for interviews. The Executive Lead, Communications pointed out that although all members were now knowledgeable and comfortable with the material, not all members would be comfortable in front of a microphone. He asked for volunteers to form a core group of members, willing to act as media spokespersons, to whom the Secretariat could refer media calls.

[1] Assembly members Carl Berger, Tara Currie, Mayte Darraidou, Marie McLaren, Patricia Miller, Elaine Pommer, Marcia Soeda, Leana Swanson, and Laura Wells.

Plenary Session: The Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform

Five students representing the Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform gave a presentation on their findings and recommendations and answered questions on their experience from the members. They distributed copies of a written submission to the Citizens' Assembly, drawn from the gathering of 103 students (one from each Ontario riding) and the Classroom Assemblies held in secondary schools throughout Ontario. After the presentation, the presenters and other members of the Students' Assembly joined the Citizens' Assembly members for lunch to continue the discussion.

Plenary Session: Approval of the Deliberation Plan

The Chair opened the floor to further discussion of the deliberation plan, the schedule, and the process. Upon a member suggestion, the Assembly agreed that individual members could make formal presentations to the full Assembly if they wished to do so.

Subject to further refinement as required, the Assembly approved the deliberation plan, Decision 1 of the eleven major decisions they would make in the deliberation phase:

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

Plenary Session: Preparing for the Task Ahead – Identifying Objectives

The Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, explained that the Assembly's task for the remainder of the afternoon would be to discuss how design objectives are tied to electoral systems and to identify priority objectives.

Thinking about design decisions in terms of objectives was a natural extension of the discussions the members had about principles during the learning phase. Now, they would identify specific objectives from the broader ideas embodied in the principles. In other words, the Assembly would continue its principles-driven approach, but would now focus on putting the principles into action. The principles the members valued most would be reflected in their chosen objectives. As the Chair had mentioned earlier, three of the principles would underlie all design decisions: legitimacy, simplicity and practicality, and representation by population.

Drawing upon their knowledge of electoral systems, the members would consider priority design objectives from two broad perspectives: representation and voters, and government and the legislature.

Representation and voters would encompass diversity in the legislature in terms of demographic and ideological representation, whether candidates should have to win a majority in order to win a seat, whether each member of the legislature should represent a geographic area, how closely votes should translate into seats, the degree of voter choice as between candidates and parties or among candidates, and how the voter would cast his or her ballot.

If, for example, the members decided that having more women and other under-represented groups in the legislature was an important objective, they could choose to design an electoral system that would be more likely to yield that result, such as one of the proportional or mixed systems. If the members decided that each MPP should be elected by a majority, an Alternative Vote or Two-Round system would achieve that outcome. If the goal was that the number of seats a party wins should reflect its share of the vote, List Proportional Representation, Mixed Member Proportional, and Single Transferable Vote could all meet that objective. If the members wanted to ensure that voters would be able to indicate their preferred parties and candidates, or rank their preferences, they might choose a system that incorporated a preferential ballot or a two-part ballot. A typical ballot under an Alternative Vote, Mixed Member Proportional, Single Transferable Vote, or Parallel system would include one or both of those elements.

In discussing the design objectives related to the government and legislature, the members would think about the type of government that would result from an election under various systems – majority or minority, single party, or coalition – and whether there should be a small number of large parties or a larger number of smaller parties. In choosing one or the other, members would be influenced by whether they believed that one form of government or legislative assembly is more effective than the other, or by whether they believed that the type of government resulting from an election is more important than issues of representation.

Plurality and majority systems would likely produce single-party majority governments, with a few large parties. List Proportional Representation, Single Transferable Vote, and Mixed Member Proportional systems often result in a coalition government and more parties would likely be represented in the legislature. High proportionality would mean more parties and low proportionality would mean fewer parties. In designing an electoral system, the members could also set a threshold parties would have to meet in order to be represented in the legislature.

Any electoral system chosen would have to be described clearly and in detail, and it would have to be consistent with the Constitution of Canada and with parliamentary norms and practices.

Under different electoral systems, political parties would work together in different ways. Some changes would take effect immediately upon changing the electoral system, such as how votes are translated into seats, but other changes, like the nature of the party system, would evolve over time. It would not be possible to predict all of the consequences of any new electoral system.

The Academic Director reminded the members that the electoral system is only one part of the political system, and that a different electoral system would not necessarily change the political culture. Furthermore, elements such as voter turnout would likely not change significantly with a change in the electoral system.

The advance package for the members included a list of possible objectives with which to begin their discussions:

1. Our electoral system should produce a legislature with more women and other under-represented groups.
2. Each MPP should be elected by a majority.
3. Each MPP should represent a geographic area of the province.
4. The number of seats a party wins should closely reflect its vote share.
5. Voters should be able to indicate their preferred party and candidate.
6. Voters should be able to rank their preferences.
7. Our electoral system should produce majority governments.
8. Our electoral system should produce coalition governments.
9. Ontario's legislature should be made up of a few large parties.
10. More small parties should win seats in Ontario's Legislature.

The Academic Director reviewed the kinds of desired outcomes that would prompt someone to select a particular objective as a priority and reviewed the types of electoral systems that might be expected to meet each objective.

Group Discussions: Objectives in Designing Electoral Systems

In the groups, each member individually indicated which objectives were most important in an electoral system by placing stickers on charts posted in the room. The groups then discussed the objectives collectively, which ones were more important and less important and why, and talked about the degree to which our present system and others met each one. This exercise was designed to create a common understanding among the members about the concrete objectives to use in choosing an electoral system to design as a possible alternative to our current system. Each group agreed on key points to take back to the full Assembly.

Plenary Session: Report Back on Objectives in Designing Electoral Systems

The consensus in all five of the groups favoured the same three priority design objectives: numbers 3, 4, and 5, listed above. During the plenary discussion of the results in each group, a consensus emerged that the members wanted to revise the wording in those three objectives:

Table 13 | Design Objectives

Each geographic area of the province should have **at least one representative**.

The number of seats each party wins should **more** closely reflect its share of the vote.

Voters should be able to indicate **both** their preferred party and their preferred candidate.

The members felt that a number of the other proposed objectives would be met with these three. With this revised wording, the Assembly approved their priority design objectives, Decision 2.

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

The Assembly would use these design objectives to select one or two alternative systems to design, to conduct the design work, and to compare alternative systems with one another and with the present system, recognizing that all principles remained on the table.

Evening

At a group dinner and open forum, the members continued discussing their consultation experiences and their thoughts about the deliberation phase. The members' Monitoring and Evaluation Advisory Committee encouraged them to approach the committee with any concerns and suggestions.

After dinner, the members had a conference call with four members of the BC Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform. Video highlights from the consultation meetings were available, and the informal discussion continued in the discussion lounge.

Day Two

Plenary Session: Selecting an Electoral System to Design

Having identified their priority design objectives the day before, the Assembly members prepared to choose an electoral system to start designing in Weekend Two.

The Academic Director introduced the exercise the members would use to rank electoral systems based on the objectives. Through the design process, the members would test how well the selected system would fulfill the Assembly's priority objectives and principles. He reminded the members that choosing an electoral system to design was not the same as choosing a preferred

system. Actually designing a system in detail would allow members the opportunity to see how the components of the system worked together and to compare it with other systems.

Group Discussions: Selecting an Electoral System to Design

The members discussed how well each electoral system would meet the Assembly's design objectives. Then, each member individually ranked the systems using a preferential ballot. Finally, each group agreed on points to take back to the full Assembly.

Plenary Session: Report Back on Selecting an Electoral System to Design

All five groups reached a consensus on MMP as their first system to design. Moreover, the results of the individual rankings by members during the group discussion pointed to a strong overall consensus: 78% of the members had indicated MMP as their first choice on the preferential ballot.

Table 14 | Choice of Systems to Design in Weekend Two

Majority Systems	Alternative Vote (AV) Two-Round System (TRS)
Proportional Systems	List Proportional Representation (List PR) Single Transferable Vote (STV)
Mixed Systems	Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) Parallel

The Assembly had made Decision 3:

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

Plenary Session: Preparing for Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) System Design Decisions

To begin preparing members for the design work they were to undertake in Weekend Two, the Academic Director reviewed the major decisions they would have to make in designing an MMP system. He encouraged the members to start talking in the online Members' Forum about the decisions to be made. The Chair asked for member volunteers to work on an Ancillary Issues Working Group to discuss issues for the Assembly to consider including in its final report. Ancillary issues would be matters related to the work of the Assembly, but not part of its core mandate. The challenge for the volunteers would be to identify which ancillary issues, if any, the Assembly might want to comment on in its report. He also invited members to let him know if they wished to make a formal presentation to the full Assembly at some point during the deliberation phase.

WEEKEND TWO (MARCH 3/4, 2007)

Objectives:

- Work on the design of a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system
- Decide whether to design another alternative system, and if so, which one

On Friday evening, the Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, held another Politics 101 session and the members met informally in the discussion lounge.

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum and Setting the Stage for Designing an MMP System

The Chair began by telling the members that the deliberation phase was off to a good start. He had visited the discussion groups during Weekend One and was pleased to say that he had seen good deliberation techniques in operation in all of them.

He formally introduced the people who represented the partnership TVOntario and Seneca College had formed to document the Citizens' Assembly process and help to engage citizens, on video at the meetings and through TVO's website.

The Chair recapped the decisions the members had made during Weekend One. Although the Assembly had decided on three main design objectives, the members had not rejected other objectives such as demographic representation, or objectives related to the outcome of elections, such as a preference for either majority governments or coalition governments.

He emphasized that choosing MMP as a system to design did not mean that the Assembly had decided to recommend it. The members had not rejected our current system, and they could not endorse or reject any system without gaining a good sense of what would replace it. He then reviewed the primary MMP design decisions the members would be making over the course of the weekend:

How many single-member seats should there be?

What should be the ratio of local seats to list seats?

What type of list tier should there be (regional or province-wide)?

How many seats should there be in the legislature in total?

The learning team had created a document summarizing Mixed Member Proportional systems used around the world and models submitted during the public consultation phase. An options paper and decision tree[1] set out the options for each of the major design decisions.

The Chair told the members that he would comment on a design issue for the first and only time. He noted that the Assembly could choose to increase the size of the legislature as part of its design work. Ontario had recently reduced significantly the number of seats in the legislature, so a larger legislature might be possible as one element in the alternative system they would design. On the other hand, there was probably a point at which an increase in the number of seats could potentially challenge the legitimacy principle. Most of all, he wanted them to avoid seeing legislature size as an easy way to avoid difficult discussions about the other design elements.

The Assembly would also make five secondary design decisions:

Should there be a threshold for parties to be allocated seats from the list tier? If so, what should it be?

What type of list should there be (closed, open, free, or "near winner")?

How many votes should there be (one or two)?

Which formula should be used to allocate seats?

Should temporary balance seats be created to compensate for overhangs?

There were three other MMP design decisions that needed to be considered that weekend or in Weekend Three:

What stipulations should there be for the creation of party lists?

Should dual candidacy be mandatory, optional, or prohibited?

What type of system should be used to elect local members?

The members would discuss the primary and secondary decisions in groups, and then discuss their findings in plenary sessions. Since many of the decisions were interrelated, the members would be considering how well each of their decisions would work with the others.

[1] See Appendix F-2, MMP Decision Tree.

To help move the process along, the Chair suggested that the groups arrive quickly at a starting point for discussion. He identified four steps in making the decisions:

- Pick a starting point on each decision to get the discussion going.
- Look at how the design elements work together.
- Move on to in-depth discussion.
- Report to the whole Assembly.

Group Discussions: Primary MMP Design Decisions

Each group discussed the four primary MMP design decisions and tried to reach a consensus to take back to the full Assembly.

Plenary Session: Report Back on Primary MMP Design Decisions

A spokesperson for each of the five groups reported on the discussion about the four primary decisions.

With respect to the type of list tier, three of the five groups chose a province-wide list tier, one group chose a regional tier, and one group was evenly split. The members who chose a province-wide list tier felt that regional representation was addressed by local members and that a provincial list would be simpler, and it would result in greater proportionality and not limit list members to a geographic area. They also believed that parties would endeavour to diversify their lists to appeal to voters throughout the province, and so a provincial list had more potential to increase demographic representation. Those who favoured a regional tier wanted to achieve clearer accountability for list members by making them responsible for a specific area. They also felt that a regional list tier in the legislature would better address specific regional concerns.

The general feeling was that the number of local seats should be retained, or at least kept as high as possible, although some members were prepared to reduce local representation to a limited degree to increase proportionality.

The members clearly valued local representation, and many were ready to sacrifice some proportionality, if necessary, to maintain it. All the groups were prepared to consider a ratio of single-member seats to list seats of 75:25, although some groups wanted to consider a 70:30 ratio.

Members were also concerned about increasing the size of the legislature, because of the public cost and because they were concerned about whether Ontarians would see legitimacy in a larger legislature.

After lengthy discussion, the Assembly agreed on ranges for a preliminary working model in which the list tier would be provincial. They would consider between 100 to 107 single-member seats, the ratio of local to list seats would be 75:25 or 70:30, and the size of the legislature would be between 133 and 153 seats.

Group Discussions: Secondary MMP Design Decisions

The members returned to their groups to discuss the five secondary MMP design decisions and reach a consensus to take back to the full Assembly.

Plenary Session: Report Back on Secondary MMP Design Decisions

The consensus in each of the five groups was that each voter should have two votes, not one. That is, voters should be able to vote for a party and also vote for a local candidate.

The groups also agreed that the party lists should be closed, although some individual members supported open lists. With closed lists, each party prepares an ordered list of candidates. Starting from the top of the list, the party's candidates are elected and fill the party's share of list seats. Some groups were in favour of stipulations for creating party lists, but the Assembly would discuss specific stipulations in Weekend Three. Members felt that a closed list, with some stipulations, would be simpler and more transparent than an open list, and more likely to increase representation of women and other under-represented groups.

One of the groups had not had time to discuss the formula for allocating seats, but the other four all chose the Hare formula. The members liked it because it is considered easy to understand and it was among the most proportional: the party votes are divided by the number of seats in the legislature to arrive at the number of votes required to capture a seat.

The groups had come to no firm conclusion about overhangs, but three groups were in favour of allowing temporary balance seats if overhangs occurred. Overhangs occur when a party wins more local seats than its share of the party vote would give it. The Assembly could choose to allow or to not allow temporary balance seats to offset overhangs. After the discussion, the Assembly agreed to allow balance seats if overhangs occurred (a decision they would later revisit).

One group recommended that parties should not have to meet any threshold in order to be allocated seats based on the party vote. Thresholds set the minimum percentage of votes or the minimum number of local seats a party must win in order to qualify for list seats. Two groups thought that there should be a dual threshold, where a party must win either one or more local seats or a minimum percentage of the party vote in order to be allocated any list seats. One of those groups thought that the threshold should be three local seats or 3% of the vote and the other thought it should be one local seat or 2.5% to 3% of the vote. Two groups concluded that a single threshold of 3% of the party vote would maintain proportionality, but would not be as complex as a dual threshold. Members were seeking a balance between giving smaller parties the opportunity to be represented in the legislature and avoiding a legislature fractured by many smaller parties with no significant public support.

After their discussion on the secondary design decisions, the Assembly added the following features to their preliminary working model: two votes; closed lists; a single threshold of 3%; the Hare formula; and allowing temporary balance seats.

Evening

During the weekend, the Assembly had to decide whether to design a second alternative system, and if so, which one. The members' Deliberation Planning Advisory Committee had recommended a process for starting the deliberations on the issue. On Friday evening, flip charts relating to various electoral systems had been set up so that members could add their comments to the charts for the alternative systems. They continued adding to the flip charts during dinner on Saturday, and after dinner, members who wished to speak in favour of designing a second, specific system, or in favour of not designing a second alternative system, each had an opportunity to make a brief presentation. The members had a spirited discussion. Some felt that the Assembly should focus on its MMP design. Others thought that other alternative systems were worthy of detailed design and consideration. Discussion continued in the discussion lounge at the hotel.

Day Two

Plenary Session: Review of MMP Working Model

The Academic Director briefly reviewed the preliminary design decisions the members had made about the MMP working model. Tentative decisions had been made, but everything was still open for discussion and modification. The members discussed how the model looked so far and how consistent the decisions were with the priority objectives. Finally, the Academic Director recapped the outstanding design issues.

The members then discussed models showing different options for legislature size, number of local seats, and the local seat/list seat ratio. Many members continued to be concerned about increasing the size of the legislature significantly. Others were more concerned about achieving proportionality and favoured increasing the size of the legislature to achieve it, especially given that Ontario currently has more population per member than any province or territory in Canada.

The Assembly agreed to continue the discussion of models in Weekend Three, using one model with 100 local seats with a 75:25 ratio and one with 107 seats with the same ratio. The members asked that further models be developed which would reduce local seats slightly and improve proportionality without increasing the size of the legislature too much. They also asked, if time allowed, for simulations using various models. In addition, the learning team would provide materials on the outstanding secondary MMP design issues before the next meeting.

Plenary Session: Selecting a Second System to Design

The Assembly decided that it was not necessary to review the opinions on the alternative systems that had been gathered from the flip charts, as they had had a chance to review them the evening before. Instead, after a brief discussion, the members reached consensus, by a show of hands, that they wished to design a second alternative. Members commented that designing a second system would help them make a better ultimate choice.

Using a preferential Alternative Vote (AV) system, members ranked their preferences for the system they wished to design. After transferring votes once, Single Transferable Vote (STV) was first with 60% of the votes. The members had made Decision 5:

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

Plenary Session: Preparing for Single Transferable Vote (STV) Design Decisions

The Academic Director told the members that before beginning to design an STV system during Weekend Three, they would receive a summary of STV systems in other jurisdictions and models submitted during the public consultation phase. An options paper and decision tree[1] would set out the options for the design decisions.

WEEKEND THREE (MARCH 17/18, 2007)

Objectives:

- Design a working model of a Single Transferable Vote (STV) system
- Continue the design of a working model of a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system

On Friday evening, the Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, held another Politics 101 session. Members also gathered in the discussion lounge.

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum and Setting the Stage for Designing an STV System

The Chair reviewed the events of Weekend Two and facilitated a discussion about the feedback. He welcomed the members of the public present and explained that they would be able to watch one of the group discussions on the screen in the plenary room.

The members were generally pleased with how much they had accomplished, although they found the pace of the work challenging. They appreciated the additional time allocated to the group discussion, and they were eager to continue their design work on both alternative systems.

Of the eleven formal decisions the Assembly would have to make, four were complete. The members had approved the deliberation plan, identified priority objectives, selected the first alternative system to design (MMP), and decided to design a second system (STV). Work was under way on two further formal decisions. The members were already designing a working model of the first alternative system and during the weekend they would design a working model of the second alternative system.

The Chair told the members that their deliberation discussion during the previous weekend had been a model of good deliberation in action, both during the formal deliberations and the informal discussions. He observed that the members made an effort to listen and respond to those with differing views on the MMP model. The Assembly had achieved consensus on a number of decisions, recognizing that consensus is not the same as unanimity.

Some members questioned whether most members continued to support the plan to design a second alternative system. By a show of hands, the Assembly members confirmed that they wished to proceed with designing an STV system. They agreed that, in future, votes of the Assembly by a show of hands would be captured on film. They also agreed that the Chair would propose the type of vote to be taken and the reason for it prior to a vote. The Chair reminded members that any of them were free to question his finding on whether a consensus had been reached or on the results of any vote.

[1] See Appendix F-3, STV Decision Tree.

"The level of discussion and debate was very spirited and enjoyable, while remaining extremely civil."

– Assembly Member, from evaluation survey

Plenary Session: STV Design Decisions

STV is designed to achieve proportionality at the local level, which can result in overall proportionality in the legislature. An ordinal ballot is used, so voters rank candidates in order of preference. Each electoral district has more than one representative, elected on the basis of a quota. All candidates who reach the quota are elected. Electoral districts can be larger than in some other systems, and the number of representatives per district can vary.

The Academic Director reviewed the primary decisions to be made in designing an STV system:

- District magnitude (the number of representatives per district): What should the district magnitudes be? Should each district have the same number or should the district magnitudes vary?
- Size of the legislature: How many seats should there be in the legislature?
- Number of districts: How many districts should there be?

Ultimately, the members would have to balance these three interrelated elements in designing an STV system.

District Magnitude

In deciding district magnitude, the members had to consider that having the same number of representatives in each electoral district would allow for equal representation for each district, but there would be large variances in the geographic size of districts. A variable district magnitude would allow for better geographic representation, but proportionality could be lower in some districts. A maximum and minimum district magnitude would have to be chosen.

Size of the Legislature

Like any system, an STV system could be designed without increasing the size of the legislature, bearing in mind that the smaller the legislature, the less geographic representation. As the size of the legislature increases, district magnitudes can increase and the geographic size of districts can be smaller, but the members would have to consider the legitimacy of the increase.

Number of Districts

The number of districts would depend on the members' decisions about the district magnitude in each district and the size of the legislature. A larger number of small districts would mean reduced proportionality. It could also mean either a larger legislature, or a larger district magnitude in only some areas. A larger legislature would help to improve representation and proportionality.

The members would also make a number of secondary design decisions related to how the system would function:

- Which method should be used to transfer surplus votes?
- How should seat vacancies be filled?
- Should ballot completion be optional, partial, or mandatory?

System to Transfer Surplus Votes

In STV, a candidate is elected if he or she receives enough votes to meet a quota. Votes above the quota are "surplus" votes. The members would have to choose a system to transfer the surplus votes to other candidates. Votes can be transferred by a randomized system that seeks to choose a representative sample of ballots. It is easy to understand, but there is no way to be sure that the sample selected is representative. In a discounted system, all of the votes for that candidate are transferred, but at a reduced value. This approach reliably reflects the wishes of the voters, but it is more complex.

Seat Vacancies

The options to consider would include a recount of the original ballots. This preserves proportionality, but only reflects the wishes of the voters at the time of the election. Replacement lists would be another option, in which each candidate is required to draw up a list of potential replacement candidates. This method maintains proportionality and party standings, but the replacement is not elected by the voters directly. Vacancies could also be filled by appointing a replacement, commonly nominated by the party for approval by the legislature, but the voters are not given a choice. A by-election could be held using Alternative Vote to ensure that the winning candidate has a majority of the votes.

Ballot Completion

Members would decide whether voters would have to rank all of the candidates on the ballot, or only as many as they wished. Ranking all candidates allows for all ballots to be transferred for later counts, but may compel voters to choose candidates they would not otherwise support. If the members specified that voters should be required to fill out only a certain part of the ballot, they would have to specify the minimum. With optional ballot completion, the voter has the maximum choice available, but the ballot would be "exhausted" earlier (i.e., it may not be used in subsequent counts).

Group Discussions: STV Design Decisions

By the same process they had used for making the initial decisions on MMP, the groups discussed the design options available in STV in order to create a working model. For their STV design, however, the members discussed both the primary and secondary design issues in the same group session and plenary.

Plenary Session: Report Back on STV Design Decisions

Each group reported on its findings. A number of members were concerned about the issue that had also been much discussed in designing the MMP model: the size of the legislature and the degree of increase Ontario citizens would consider legitimate.

Subject to further revision in Weekend Four, the Assembly agreed that district magnitude in their STV model would vary by district: The five groups agreed that there would be an average of five members per district, with a range of three to seven.

All five groups also agreed on a discounted transfer method. Although two groups thought that voters should be required to rank a minimum number of candidates, the Assembly reached a consensus that voters should be able to choose how many candidates they wished to rank.

The size of the legislature as determined by the groups varied from 125 to 145 seats, and the number of electoral districts varied from 25 to 29. There was no consensus on how seat vacancies would be filled between general elections, as each group had reached a different conclusion. The Chair therefore proposed to document everything said on the subject, send it to the members with their advance packages for the following weekend, and revisit the subject in Weekend Four. However, the Assembly had substantially designed its STV working model:

Table 15 | STV Working Model

- District magnitudes: Varied; average 5, range 3 to 7
- Number of districts: 25 to 29
- Size of the legislature: 125 to 145
- Transfer method: discounted
- Ballot completion: optional
- Seat vacancies: to be discussed further

The Assembly had now made Decision 6:

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

Plenary Session: Outstanding Secondary MMP Design Decisions

Before the meeting, the learning team had provided summaries of the issues involved in the outstanding secondary MMP design decisions and the options available for each. The Academic Director reviewed the options and consequences for each decision.

System for electing local members

Options for a system for electing local members included Single Member Plurality (SMP), where voters select one candidate, and the Alternative Vote (AV) system, where voters rank candidates in order of preference. SMP could be considered simple and practical, and familiar to Ontario voters as our current system. AV would provide more voter choice, and would ensure that candidates were elected with a majority, but would be a bit more complex.

Dual Candidacy

Dual candidacy means that a candidate on a party list is also a candidate competing for a local seat. It could be seen as fair to award list seats to candidates with experience in running at the local level, but some might feel that a candidate rejected at the local level, especially by a wide margin, should not be awarded a list seat. The members would have to consider three options. Dual candidacy could be mandatory, in that candidates on the list would be required to run as local candidates. Optional dual candidacy would allow candidates to be included on a party list, run in a local district, or both. Finally, dual candidacy could be prohibited, so that candidates who appeared on a party list could not run in a local district.

Creation of Party Lists

In Weekend Two, the members had decided that the list tier in their MMP model would be a closed list. While parties generally have control over the composition of lists, the members would consider the options available to ensure that lists are created in a transparent and democratic manner. The discussion would assume that parties would be required to make their lists public before the election.

The members could choose to recommend no special rules if they believed that the parties would understand that they would ultimately have to answer to the electorate for their processes and choices and act accordingly. Or, they could choose to recommend that parties be required to develop their lists through a democratic and transparent process, which voters would evaluate at the polls. As a further alternative, parties could be legally required to develop lists transparently and democratically, perhaps in a way that reflects demographic and regional balance. There could be an additional requirement to set out the process for assessment by an independent body, such as Elections Ontario, which would make public an assessment of how the plan conformed to the legislated criteria. They could also explore the possibility of imposing sanctions on parties that failed to meet specified criteria.

Group Discussions: Outstanding Secondary MMP Design Decisions

The members discussed the outstanding items in detail and prepared to take the results of their discussion to the full Assembly.

Plenary Session: Report Back on Outstanding Secondary MMP Design Decisions

Following a report on the discussion by each group, the Assembly decided on optional dual candidacy for their MMP working model. The members also decided that local representatives would be elected using Single Member Plurality, although there was significant support for Alternative Vote in two groups.

The Assembly agreed that more work was required on whether there should be an independent review of party lists or the processes parties would use to create them. The groups generally favoured an independent review, but did not reach consensus on the specific requirements.

Plenary Session: Primary Design Decisions on the MMP Working Model

During Weekend Two, the members had asked that further models be developed for consideration, with slightly fewer local seats and improved proportionality. The Academic Director reviewed two additional models, developed by a volunteer group of members, which provided for 90 local seats. One model had a 30% list tier, meaning that 30% of the seats in the legislature would be list seats, and the other had a 25% list tier.

The Academic Director noted the challenges associated with using past election results for simulations to assess the models. Under an MMP system, voters are free to vote for one party using the party vote and for a candidate from a different party (or an independent) as their local representative. Simply using figures from past elections carried out under a Single Member Plurality system, in which voters do not have the option to split their votes in this way, produces unreliable results.

Evening

After dinner, Assembly member Tom Engelhart reported on the approach recommended by the members' Final Report Advisory Committee and then opened the floor to ideas from other members.

The committee would review early drafts and designs of the report, before the Assembly as a whole reviewed them, with a view to making the best use of the short time available. However, the committee would not make final decisions about the report on behalf of the Assembly, and the full Assembly would be reviewing and approving it. The committee would concentrate on the ideas in the report rather than on the wording.

If the Assembly recommended change, the report would have to describe the new system clearly and in detail. Plain language would be essential. The report would set the stage for a public education campaign, and the committee felt that the report should inspire and persuade voters. It would be as short as possible, but as long as necessary to convey the message. The committee was continuing to discuss the content, but already had several ideas, including that the recommendation should be stated at the beginning, and that it should show how and why the Assembly reached its decision, emphasizing the principles and objectives. A series of questions and answers should anticipate the questions voters might have. The Assembly process should be described in enough detail to establish its credibility. The committee was working on two drafts, one reporting on a recommendation for change and the other on a decision to keep our current system.

Assembly members Margo Bath, Nancy Collins, Patrick Heenan, and Edward Savelle.

Day Two

Plenary Session: Results of Simulations Using MMP Models

The Academic Director presented the results of the simulations the members had requested using the two models from Weekend Two and the two models designed by members between weekends.

Table 16 | Preliminary MMP Models

Single-member seats	100	107	90	90
Ratio of local seats to list seats	75:25	75:25	70:30	75:25
Number of list seats	33	36	39	30
Size of legislature	133	143	129	120

He also explained the assumptions on which the simulations were based. He stressed that although the assumptions were reasonable, voting patterns and voter preferences are unpredictable. He also emphasized that the simulations were not evidence of what Ontario elections results would be under an MMP system, as a new electoral system would result in new voting patterns.

The simulations assumed that five parties would receive seats in the legislature: two dominant parties, two medium-sized parties, and one small party. They also assumed that one party would win 50% of the local seats, and that the small party would win no local seats but would win support in the party vote. Taking into account how MMP systems work elsewhere, the simulations also assumed that party support would be more widely spread among parties than it is in our current system.

All of the models produced good proportionality, with negligible differences in proportionality among them. As the size of the list tier increased, the number of overhangs decreased. The impact was modest, however, because the range tested was only between 30 and 39 list seats.

The Chair noted that some members had requested outside expert feedback on the models under consideration. They would have an opportunity to get some feedback on their models, but they were at the stage where they had to choose a model and make the best decision they could with the information available.

Group Discussions: Primary Design Decisions on the MMP Working Model

The groups discussed the MMP models in detail and prepared to report their findings to the full Assembly.

Plenary Session: Report Back on Primary Design Decisions on the MMP Working Model

The groups presented the results of their discussions on the MMP models. Support for a model with 90 local members had grown, but many members still favoured a higher number of local seats. Support for a local seat/list seat ratio of 70:30 had also grown, but there was no clear consensus on this issue: some members wanted a higher proportion of list members and

others wanted a lower one. During the discussion, some groups had developed further models, which were discussed in the plenary session. After a lengthy discussion, the members began the process of eliminating models from consideration.

Having agreed to stay past their scheduled departure time to get to a decision on their working model, the members persisted until they agreed to include the following four models in the vote:

Table 17 | MMP Models Included in the Vote

	A	B	C	D
Local seats	90	107	100	103
Ratio of local seats to list seats	70:30	70:30	70:30	75:25
Number of list seats	39	46	43	33
Size of the legislature	129	153	143	136

The members reached a consensus that they would vote on the four models in a formal two-round vote, by secret ballot. After the first round, the two models with the lowest number of votes would be eliminated. In the second round, the members would vote on the remaining two models.

After the first round, models C and D were eliminated. In the second round, the members voted for model A or B.

Table 18 | Vote on MMP Models

	First Round	Second Round
Model A	33	52
Model B	24	39
Model C	12	
Model D	22	

With model A having received the most votes, the members had completed the primary design features to add to the other design features on which they had reached consensus in their previous discussions:

Table 19 | MMP Working Model

- Number of single-member seats: 90
- Ratio of local seats to list seats: 70:30
- Number of list seats: 39
- Size of the legislature: 129 seats
- List tier: province-wide
- Dual candidacy: optional
- System for electing local members: Single Member Plurality
- Formula for allocating list seats: Hare
- Temporary balance seats: allowed
- Stipulations on creating party lists: to be discussed further

The Assembly had thus made Decision 4:

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

The STV and MMP working models would be subject to further reflection and revision during Weekend Four. Meanwhile, the Secretariat would obtain the views of outside experts on technical issues arising from both models. For the MMP model, an issue outstanding was the creation of party lists. The Chair asked for a volunteer to work on options for the independent review of party lists and then report to the Assembly. Assembly member Patricia Miller volunteered.

WEEKEND FOUR (MARCH 31/APRIL 1, 2007)

Objectives:

- Complete the design of models for a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) and Single Transferable Vote (STV) system
- Select the best alternative system

On arrival Friday evening, the members met in the discussion lounge, and the Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, held a Politics 101 session.

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum

The Chair began by acknowledging the English/French interpreters from International Conference Interpreters and the technicians from Mediaco who set up and operated the audio-visual equipment.

Feedback from the members about Weekend Three had been positive. Although they had found the deliberation hard work, the members had enjoyed the challenges and looked forward to more. The positive feedback particularly focused on more active participation by members, including those who had not been heard from regularly in the past. Strong points of view had been advanced, but those views enriched the group discussions. The members wanted to preserve their open forum time, and also appreciated the longer time now devoted to group discussion. Members had also made constructive suggestions: points had been repeated more than they found necessary, and the tasks assigned to discussion groups could have been more clearly defined. Following up on a suggestion from the members, the Chair confirmed that three members would be selected at random, by drawing names, to act as scrutineers when formal Assembly votes were counted.

The Chair mentioned that the Assembly might need a process to select members to participate in submitting the Assembly's report to government on May 15, 2007 and asked members who wished to participate to make their interest known.

Plenary Session: Outstanding MMP Design Issue – Balance Seats

The Assembly had asked that the Secretariat obtain feedback on the MMP working model from the Academic Reference Group and other experts. The Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, reported that those whose opinions had been sought had provided positive feedback. The feedback also suggested, though, that the members might wish to refine their model based on one interpretation about the possibility of overhang seats.

One external expert had suggested different scenarios, using past provincial voting patterns in Canada, which yielded a varying number of overhang seats. Based on different assumptions, the models considered during the previous weekend resulted in few or no overhangs. Nevertheless, it was important that the Assembly have an opportunity to reconsider its working model based on this different interpretation.

Overhangs occur when a party wins a greater share of local seats than its share of the party vote gives it. For example, a party might win 55 seats in the local districts, but only be entitled to 52 seats based on the party vote. This would result in three overhang seats. If an election produced overhangs and balance seats were permitted to offset them, the legislature would temporarily increase by the number of overhang seats. Thus, the size of the legislature could fluctuate from election to election.

The Academic Director explained that it is fairly common in Ontario, under the present system, for a party to win around 40% of the total votes, but receive around 60% of the local seats. That voting scenario could result in a number of overhangs. He stressed once again, however, that voting patterns cannot be predicted.

In revisiting the issue, the Assembly therefore had to determine, first, the likelihood that overhangs would occur, and second, whether they would allow balance seats should they occur. In either case, they would have options available.

Under the MMP working model, disproportionality would be low (disproportionality is the difference between the number of seats a party has compared with its share of the party vote). The likelihood of overhang seats could be reduced by increasing the number of list seats and therefore the size of the legislature. Another option would be to not increase the size of the legislature, but reduce the number of local seats and prohibit balance seats. In that case, a higher percentage of the list seats would remain in the list seat pool, which could decrease the likelihood of overhangs.

The Assembly could decide to keep the other elements of its working model, but prohibit temporary balance seats. This change would eliminate uncertainty about the size of the legislature, but depending on the number of overhangs, it could potentially increase disproportionality.

In the discussion following the Academic Director's presentation, the members also considered the possibility of allowing balance seats, but putting a cap on the number allowed. Several members expressed reluctance to revisit the MMP working model; others wanted to reconfirm the Assembly's support for the model. The Chair proposed that the options be considered in the groups and thereafter by the whole Assembly.

Group Discussions: Outstanding MMP Design Issue – Balance Seats

The members discussed the options in light of the new feedback. They considered the alternatives and scenarios the Academic Director had described regarding overhangs and discussed the idea put forward by some members about imposing a cap on balance seats.

Plenary Session: Report Back on Outstanding MMP Design Issue – Balance Seats

Following a discussion of the results from each group, the members decided not to alter their existing model and to allow balance seats if overhangs were created. Some requested further information on the likelihood of overhangs in the MMP model and the feasibility of caps on balance seats if MMP were to be selected as the preferred alternative system to weigh against the current system.

See Part IV, Description of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly's Mixed Member Proportional System, for further details about overhangs.

Plenary Session: Outstanding MMP Design Issue – Creating Party Lists

Assembly member Joyce Hughes had volunteered to join Patricia Miller to work on the question of stipulations for party lists. Before the meeting, in consultation with the Chair, they prepared an issues paper, which was included in the members' advance package. Patricia Miller also reported that she had accompanied the Chair to speak with representatives of Ontario's political parties, at a meeting of the Elections Ontario Political Advisory Committee, to learn their views on party lists under an MMP system. The party representatives acknowledged that party lists and the process of creating them should be transparent. They were concerned, however, about the possibility of an independent assessment, how such an assessment would be carried out, the criteria for the assessment, and the public cost. They felt that assessment of the list should come from the voters.

Group Discussions: Outstanding MMP Design Issue – Creating Party Lists

The members discussed the options for stipulations regarding the creation of party lists.

Plenary Session: Report Back on Outstanding MMP Design Issue – Creating Party Lists

Following discussion of the group results, the Assembly reached a consensus that the candidates on the lists and the process parties use to create lists should be transparent and made broadly available to voters before an election.

Plenary Session: Outstanding STV Design Issues – Seat Vacancies and Size of the Legislature

The Academic Director reviewed the two outstanding issues in designing an STV model (the size of the legislature and how seat vacancies would be filled between elections) and reviewed the options.

Seat Vacancies

The members had discussed a number of options in Weekend Three, including recounting the votes from the previous election, replacement lists, appointed replacements, and by-elections. A further option, devised by some of the members, was some combination of those options, such as using the recount method if the vacancy occurred within a certain period after the election and holding a by-election to fill the vacancy after that period.

Size of the Legislature

The members had narrowed the size of the legislature in their working model to between 125 and 145 seats in Weekend Three. Once they determined the size of the legislature, that decision would determine the number of electoral districts.

Groups Discussions: Outstanding STV Design Issues – Seat Vacancies and Size of the Legislature

The members had agreed, upon a member suggestion, to consider a legislature of 107 seats in addition to the range established in their working model. The groups also discussed the number of electoral districts and a process for filling seat vacancies.

"Discussions are ongoing, and the information is just being bounced back and forth and everyone has their own opinion. It's wonderful, informative and mind-boggling. Everyone has been so great in sharing their information and reasons for making the choices that they do."

– Arita Droog, Assembly Member, Bruce – Grey – Owen Sound (Owen Sound Sun Times, April 12, 2007)

Plenary Session: Report Back on Outstanding STV Design Issues – Seat Vacancies and Size of the Legislature

The groups had individually narrowed the size of the legislature to between 130 and 135 seats, with some members supporting 125 and 145. They narrowed the number of districts to 26 or 27, with some support for 25 and 29. After discussions and a show of hands, the Assembly chose 135 seats with 27 districts for the purposes of the working model.

Table 20 | Revised STV Model

- District magnitudes: Varied; average 5, range 3 to 7
- Number of districts: 27
- Size of the legislature: 135
- Transfer method: discounted
- Ballot completion: optional
- Seat vacancies: to be determined

The groups had not reached a consensus on the method of filling seat vacancies, but since that was a secondary issue in designing an STV model, the Assembly agreed to revisit the question if STV were chosen as the preferred alternative.

Having now approved their design for both alternative systems, the Assembly had made Decision 7:

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

Evening

Brian Lambie of Redbrick Communications gave the members a presentation on techniques for communicating effectively with the public and the media and answered the members' questions. He stressed that each member would have a personal story to tell and suggested that they think about the messages they would most like to convey.

Day Two

Plenary Session: Open Forum

The members discussed their decisions to date and the process for making them. Some members were satisfied that there had been enough discussion; others felt that they had not had enough time to come to a consensus on the design issues. The Chair pointed out that, once the members had chosen between the two alternative systems to consider against Ontario's current system, they would have an opportunity to refine their preferred model.

Plenary Session: Preparing to Weigh the Two Alternative Systems

The Academic Director told the members that choosing between the two alternative systems would mean looking at each system again through the lens of the principles and design objectives. In the group discussion to follow, the members would step back from the details of the two systems and evaluate them in the larger context of how well each system would serve those principles.

Group Discussions: Preparing to Weigh the Two Alternative Systems

The groups discussed the two alternative systems and how well they met the Assembly's principles and priority objectives. In this instance, the groups would not report their findings to the full Assembly. At the next plenary session, they would vote.

Plenary Session: Deciding Between the Two Alternative Systems

The Chair facilitated a discussion on the alternatives, and members who favoured one or the other had an opportunity to share their reasons. In recognizing speakers, the Chair alternated between members who favoured STV and those who favoured MMP. When everyone who wished to speak had done so, the members agreed that it was time to vote. The vote was by secret ballot, with each member placing their ballot in a ballot box. Three members, drawn at random, acted as scrutineers for the count.

"Earlier in the deliberation process we looked at our values and considered systems. At that point I was struck by how the values I hold dearest mapped onto MMP. I've always liked the idea of voting for a party and a candidate... I believe in MMP."

– Tom Engelhart, Assembly Member, Etobicoke – Lakeshore

Table 21 | Vote: MMP or STV

What is the best alternative system?

75	Mixed Member Proportional
25	Single Transferable Vote

MMP received 75 votes, STV received 25 votes, and there was one spoiled ballot. (Two members were absent.) The Assembly had made Decision 8:

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

Assembly members Andrea Kirkham, Cornelio Reyes, and Sandra Richter.

"MMP is a legitimate system – if we recommend MMP, we recommend a gradual change. MMP achieves more fair representation of women and under-represented groups. MMP is a simple system in terms of ballot design for voters: the voting process can be explained easily and the results can be explained simply."

– Elsayed Abdelaal, Assembly Member, Guelph – Wellington

WEEKEND FIVE (APRIL 14/15, 2007)

Objectives:

- Resolve an outstanding design issue in the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) model
- Decide whether Ontario should keep its current Single Member Plurality (SMP) electoral system or adopt the MMP model designed by the Assembly
- If MMP is selected, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
- Discuss the final report and ancillary issues

On Friday evening, the Academic Director, Jonathan Rose, facilitated a Politics 101 session. By this point, the discussion had become so in-depth that members were calling these sessions "Politics 301." Members also gathered in the discussion lounge.

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum

The facilities at Osgoode Hall of York University were not available on this occasion, and the sessions were held in government facilities in downtown Toronto. Although the plenary room did not allow for members of the public to be present in the room, an adjacent room was set up for observers to watch the proceedings through a live video feed.

"The experience has been historic, never mind the decisions that lie ahead."

– Jeff Witt, Assembly Member, Ancaster – Dundas – Flamborough – Aldershot

Feedback from the previous weekend indicated that most members were content with the Assembly's decision to obtain more information about overhangs in their chosen MMP model and discuss it again. However, some members did not want to revisit the decisions already made.

The Chair reviewed the schedule and voting procedures for the session, and names were drawn for the three members who would act as scrutineers for the vote count.

Assembly member Ann Thomas reported on a meeting attended by several members of the Women and Other Under-represented Groups Working Group, at the invitation of the Liberal Womens' Caucus, which included the Minister Responsible for

[1] Assembly members Jon Kristman, John Reston, and Christine Robert.

Democratic Renewal. Minister Bountrogianni gave assurances that there would be an extensive public education campaign in the event of a referendum.

As the Assembly requested, the Chair had a brief meeting with the Premier to report that the Assembly was nearing the end of the process and to stress the importance of public education about the Assembly's decision.

Plenary Session: Outstanding MMP Design Issue – Balance Seats

After the last meeting, the Chair had asked for Assembly member volunteers to participate in a conference call about the issue of ways to deal with overhangs and several had done so.[54] In preparation for the call, the learning team had done further research on the likelihood of overhangs in the MMP model and the impact on proportionality of allowing or not allowing balance seats, or allowing a cap on the number of balance seats. The members who participated in the conference call reached a consensus that the Assembly's MMP model would not produce many overhangs and that balance seats should not be allowed, although some held different views. A report on the substance of the conference call and a summary of the research was sent to all members with their advance package for the meeting.

Assembly members speaking on behalf of the conference call participants described why the group believed the Assembly should not allow balance seats. All members had an opportunity to voice their opinions, after which the Chair asked for a show of hands on whether there should be a limit on balance seats. Most members favoured a limit of some kind. The Chair then asked if the limit should be a cap on the number, or whether balance seats should not be allowed at all. After a show of hands, the members agreed that the issue was resolved, and they would alter their model so that balance seats would not be allowed. The members also agreed, by a show of hands, that this decision completed the design of their MMP model, and they would not revisit any other design decisions.

Table 22 | Revised MMP Model

- Number of single-member seats: 90
- Ratio of local seats to list seats: 70:30
- Number of list seats: 39
- Size of the legislature: 129 seats
- List tier: province-wide
- Dual candidacy: optional
- System for electing local members: Single Member Plurality
- Formula for allocating list seats: Hare
- Temporary balance seats: not allowed
- Stipulations on creating party lists: transparent process

[54] Assembly members Margo Bath, Nancy Collins, Matthew Certosimo, Tom Engelhart, Taylor Gilbert, Patrick Heenan, Stephanie Jones, Patricia Miller, Pamela Patterson, Donna Tichonchuk, Susan Tiley, David Viitala, and Jeff Witt.

Plenary Session: Choosing between SMP and MMP

The Academic Director reminded the members that the Assembly had begun the process with an examination of the principles used to design electoral systems. Those principles guided the learning phase and were the key focus of the consultation phase. At the beginning of the deliberation phase, the members had identified three priority design objectives based on the principles, but all of the principles were still relevant. Now, they would examine the two systems, SMP and MMP, from two broad perspectives applicable to all electoral systems: representation (how voters express their preferences and how they are represented) and outcome (kinds of government, party structure, and how the legislature functions). From those two perspectives, the members would consider how well each system satisfied their principles and objectives.

The members would also consider some of the challenges associated with making a transition to a new electoral system. They would identify what they believed were the strengths of the current system and what they considered problems with the current system. They would ask themselves whether their MMP model would solve any problems identified. They would also consider whether the benefits of MMP were significant enough to warrant a recommendation to change to a new system. In the end, bearing in mind that there is no perfect electoral system, the members would decide which electoral system would most benefit the people of Ontario.

Finally, the Academic Director suggested that members should now step out of their role as electoral system experts and back into their role as citizens with a diversity of views, perspectives, and ideals.

Group Discussions: Weighing SMP and MMP

The members discussed the decision before them, weighing each system in terms of how the principles were reflected in the representation and outcomes associated with both systems.

Plenary Session: Weighing SMP and MMP

Members had been offered the opportunity to make prepared statements to the Assembly regarding their preference. One member, Edmund James, had wished to do so, and presented a statement in favour of SMP. The other members then had an opportunity to voice their reasons for supporting one system or the other, and the Assembly applauded each of them.

The discussion continued until every member who wanted to speak had spoken. Some members who had contributed their perspectives in group sessions, but not in plenary sessions, took the opportunity to address the full Assembly for the first time.

Plenary Session: Deciding between SMP and MMP

Ballots were distributed to the members. When all of the members had completed their ballots, they deposited them in the ballot box. The three member scrutineers monitored the count while the others took a short break.

Table 23 | Vote: SMP or MMP

Should Ontario keep its current electoral system or adopt a new one?

16	Keep Ontario's current **Single Member Plurality** system
86	Adopt the Assembly's **Mixed Member Proportional** system

After the break for counting the votes in the presence of the member scrutineers, the Chair announced the results: 86 members voted for MMP and 16 voted for SMP (one member was absent). The Assembly had made Decision 9:

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

"When we came up with MMP as the best alternative system, there were some critical reports to the effect that it's a radical change. In fact our system should be regarded as gradual change. We have based our system on the current system, its strength of accountability. And we added some new features like voter choice. With this system we should be able to achieve proportionality."

– Bryan Byong-Kuon Kim, Assembly Member, Willowdale

Day Two

Plenary Session: Approach to Final Report and Ancillary Issues

The Chair reviewed the schedule for the day. The night before, the members had received first drafts of the Assembly's final report, which they were to discuss in their group sessions. Two versions of the draft had been prepared with guidance from the members' Final Report Advisory Committee – one to be used if the Assembly chose to recommend the current system and one to be used if the Assembly chose MMP. Since the report would remain a confidential document until the Assembly submitted it to the government, the public would not observe the group discussion. While the groups were meeting, Secretariat staff would lead a question-and-answer session with members of the public, and the Academic Director would provide a technical briefing on the Assembly's MMP system to the media.

Assembly members Tom Engelhart and Bill Ritz, on behalf of the Final Report Advisory Committee, talked about the process and next steps for the Assembly's report. In addition to elements already discussed with the members during Weekend

Three, the committee had added that the report should be available in alternative formats such as Braille, and that the website would be updated to reflect this new phase of the Assembly process. The draft was to be considered a work in progress. The members would be providing important input later in the day, and would have an opportunity to comment further for several days after the meeting. The committee had met with the designers early in the morning to discuss ideas, and a proposed design for the report would be included in the draft for discussion in the final weekend.

Speaking for the members' Ancillary Issues Working Group,[1] Assembly members Dianne Carey and Harold Willis discussed the issues related to the work of the Assembly, but not part of its core mandate, which might be included in the Assembly's report. The working group had reviewed the ancillary issues raised by members of the public in the consultation phase and had prioritized the issues to present to the Assembly. The committee envisaged devoting limited space to ancillary issues in the report, so as not to detract from the main purpose. Proposals for topics to cover included the importance of a clear referendum question and pre-referendum public education, initiatives to increase public participation in elections and understanding of the political process and to engage youth in particular, enhanced accessibility for persons with disabilities and others who face barriers to full participation in the political process, and encouraging parties to make the nomination process for local candidates a more transparent process. The Assembly members would discuss these issues and further ideas in their group discussions.

"With a good education process before the referendum, there's a possibility that we could accept change. Otherwise, people won't know enough to make an informed decision."

– Participant at a public consultation meeting, Perth

Group Discussions: The Assembly's Report

The members reviewed the Assembly's draft report in detail, including the ancillary issues they wanted to include in it. While some members wished to say more about the ancillary issues in the Assembly's report, it was important to keep the report short enough to be accessible and easily readable. At least one person from the members' Final Report Advisory Group was included in each of the groups and helped to lead the discussion. As well, each group included at least one person from the members' Ancillary Issues Working Group to speak to that section of the report. Members were generally pleased with the draft, but had many suggestions on how to make it clearer and better. The feedback from the members was to be incorporated in another draft for the following weekend.

"The working session that I sat in on Sunday morning was led by an Assembly member on the Final Report Advisory Committee, and the members got down to work, worked well together as a real team, were respectful of each other even when they disagreed on points, reached compromises, got through the whole document, and even had some fun. It was a vivid example of how the members have coalesced as a group through the process."

– Gail Motsi, Institute On Governance (independent evaluator)

[1] Assembly members Carolyn Agasild, Dianne Carey, Tara Currie, Tamara Fick, Stephanie Jones, Marcia Soeda, David Viitala, and Harold Willis.

Plenary Session: Recommendation to the People of Ontario

The Chair invited the members to make any further comments about whether to take their recommendation forward to the people of Ontario, but the Assembly reached a consensus that they were ready to decide through a formal vote. The purpose of this vote was to give members the opportunity to endorse the Assembly's decision because of the process that produced it, even if the decision had not been their first choice.

Ballots were distributed, collected, and counted in the presence of the three members acting as scrutineers.

Table 24 | Vote: Recommendation to the People of Ontario

Do you want to recommend the Assembly's Mixed Member Proportional system to the people of Ontario?	
94	Yes
8	No

To applause from the Assembly, the Chair announced that 94 members had voted to recommended the Assembly's MMP system to the people of Ontario, and 8 members voted against it (one member was absent). The Assembly had made Decision 10:

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

"Ontario's first – and, I hope, not only – Citizens' Assembly has tackled a tough policy issue, addressed it well, considered it well, and reached a final decision. It's a remarkable achievement and you should all be very, very proud of what you've done – I'm proud, very proud, of you. Congratulations to all of you."

– George Thomson, Chair

April 15, 2007, Deliberation Meeting in Toronto, ON, Lisc Breton

Following the vote, a panel of seven Assembly members[1] had a conference with representatives from the media. The other members watched a live video feed of the media conference over lunch.

WEEKEND SIX (APRIL 28/29, 2007)

Objectives:

- Approve the Assembly's report
- Discuss ways to communicate the Assembly's recommendation
- Hear from the Minister in recognition of the Assembly's work
- Share perspectives on the Assembly experience and ideas on future activities

On Friday evening, members met in the discussion lounge. Assembly members Karl Cadera, Patricia Miller, Pamela Patterson, Edward Savelle, and Donna Tichonchuk led a discussion about the creation of an alumni association for members who were interested, an idea to be discussed by the full Assembly during the next day.

Day One

Plenary Session: Open Forum

The Chair welcomed the members to the final weekend meeting of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform and congratulated them again on designing and selecting their model. In their feedback, the members had given the previous weekend the highest ratings to date for their commitment and decision-making and for the support they had received. The feedback also indicated that the draft of the Assembly's report had been well received.

[1] Assembly members Elsayed Abdelaal, Karl Cadera, Mayte Darraidou, Christopher Doody, Patricia Miller, Pamela Patterson, and Melinda Selmys.

The members' Final Report Advisory Committee had met earlier that morning to discuss amendments to the design of the Assembly's report. The plans for transmitting the report to the government on May 15 were not yet final, but members would be kept informed.

The Chair congratulated the members who participated in the press conference at the end of Weekend Five and the many other members who had been interviewed since. The members would be able to share their experience in the communications workshops planned for the weekend.

The Chair acknowledged the members of the public who had come to observe the meeting and noted that they had been an important part of the process throughout. However, since the members would be discussing their still-confidential report, the public would not be observing the group discussions this weekend.

He introduced Patrick Monahan, Dean of Osgoode Hall Law School. Dean Monahan told the members that Osgoode Hall students and faculty had been following the Assembly's process with great interest, and that a class of political science and law students had been studying both the process of the Assembly and electoral reform generally. The Chair also thanked staff from Osgoode Hall and Cosmos Catering.

Group Discussions: The Assembly's Report

The members had received the most recent draft of their report in their advance package, and a mock-up version of the design when they registered on Friday evening. Section by section, the groups discussed their observations and suggestions for the content and design. At least one person from the members' Final Report Advisory Committee was included in each group to introduce the session, provide advice, and answer questions. The key points were recorded, to be discussed in a plenary session later in the day.

Plenary Session: Minister's Remarks and Presentation Ceremony

The Chair welcomed The Honourable Marie Bountrogianni, Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal. He thanked the Minister for protecting the independence of the Assembly throughout the process and for her commitment to a public education campaign to inform voters about the Assembly's recommendation so that they would be able to make an informed choice. He also thanked her Deputy Minister, Matthew Mendelsohn, who was also present.

The Minister had remained neutral throughout the process, but she had followed the Assembly's progress through TVOntario's broadcasts and had attended a consultation meeting in her riding. In her remarks, she told the members that they had exceeded expectations in giving Ontarians a meaningful voice, and she had been amazed by how seriously the members had taken their responsibilities. The Minister acknowledged the members and the Secretariat for their hard work, the Chair for his fairness, integrity, and inclusiveness, and the Executive Director, Karen Cohl, for her guidance of the Secretariat. She congratulated the members on a job well done and thanked them, and their families, for their commitment.

The members had been seated in alphabetical order for this session, in preparation for a presentation ceremony. The Executive Director introduced each Assembly member. One by one, against a backdrop of photographs taken over the course of their eight months together, the members went up on stage. The Minister and the Chair congratulated them, and they received a paperweight bearing the Citizens' Assembly logo from the Minister as a memento.

As the Assembly member from the Minister's constituency, Jennie Stakich thanked the Minister on behalf of the Assembly for coming to recognize their work and for her kind remarks.

The members posed for a group photo with the Minister, after which the Minister joined them for lunch and informal discussion.

Plenary Session: The Assembly's Report

A spokesperson for each group reported back on their discussions. This was followed by further discussion in which several other suggestions emerged. The members agreed that their Ancillary Issues Working Group would meet later in the day to develop a recommendation in response to issues raised in connection with that section of the report.

Plenary Session: Member Activities after May 15, 2007

The members who facilitated the Friday evening discussion proposed that the Citizens' Assembly alumni activities should have two different objectives: to inform Ontarians about the Assembly and its recommendation, and to provide a way for members to stay in touch with one another after they resumed their roles as private citizens.

The online Members' Room and Members' Forum would end on May 15, but the members would create an alumni website, with a members-only section to include an online discussion forum, email capacity, scheduling capability, and contact details for the alumni. The public part of the alumni site would link to the Assembly website, which was to remain publicly available. The Students' Assembly would be contacted so that its members would know that the Citizens' Assembly members wished to keep in touch with them. Several of the facilitators had volunteered to assist the members with their future activities.

Further suggestions for member activities included speaking engagements and writing articles or letters. The members observed that they would need a better understanding of the public education campaign to be planned by Elections Ontario, and would have to clarify whether Election Ontario envisaged a role for members in the campaign.

Plenary Session: Introduction to Communications Workshops

The Executive Lead, Communications, Barry Koen-Butt, reviewed key communications concepts and materials that would be available to support members.

He told them that the Chair, the Academic Director, and the Secretariat team would continue to be neutral on the issue of the Assembly's recommendation. The Chair and staff would only speak about the process and the value of citizens' assemblies generally. The Academic Director would also speak on the technical aspects of the recommendation in a neutral manner. The facilitators would be free to voice opinions as private individuals once the Assembly's report was released. It would be for the members to talk about their decision and recommendation. The group discussions to follow were intended to help members prepare to tell their story.

After completion of the final report, the Secretariat would provide a kit for members, including copies of the Assembly's report, a shorter brochure about the recommendation, the longer, background report (this report), a list of questions and answers, an "MMP at a glance" document, and a CD containing a PowerPoint presentation on MMP, and a new *Billy Ballot* animation segment on the Assembly's MMP system. The kit would also include a DVD with electronic copies of the printed materials, a PowerPoint presentation on the Assembly process, the opening video shown at the public consultation meetings, and a video message to Ontarians from the Assembly (which the members were filming over the weekend). Meanwhile, the Secretariat would let members know how they could obtain additional copies of reports, brochures, and other materials.

Groups Discussions: Communications Workshops

Assembly members who had done interviews since Weekend Five shared their experiences, the questions they had been asked, and their views on how the interviews went.

Each group then divided into smaller teams to practise answering sets of key questions, compiled for them based on questions members of the public and the media had been asking about the Citizens' Assembly process and the MMP model designed by the members.

Evening

The members gathered for their closing dinner to celebrate their work together. They were joined by the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, The Honourable James K. Bartleman, who had received the members on their first weekend eight months earlier. An exhibit of black and white photographs of Assembly members in action was on display.

After remarks from the Lieutenant Governor and the Chair, members and facilitators made impromptu presentations in appreciation of the support they had received throughout the process.

Day Two

Plenary Session: Approval of the Assembly's Report

The members of the Ancillary Issues Working Group presented their recommendations for revising the section of the report dealing with ancillary issues. The Chair facilitated a discussion, and upon a show of hands, the Assembly reached consensus on the recommended changes.

A summary of additional changes to be made to the content and design of the report, as suggested by the members the previous day, was then projected on the screen for review. After discussion, the Assembly agreed on the changes, recognizing that the members' Final Report Advisory Committee would continue to work on some specific details with Secretariat staff and the designers.

The Chair called for a show of hands, and with a clear consensus, the Assembly made Decision 11 – their final decision as the Citizens' Assembly.

Decisions

1. Approve the deliberation plan
2. Identify priority design objectives
3. Select an alternative system to design
4. Design a working model for an alternative system
5. Decide whether to design a second system and, if so, which one
6. Design a working model for the second alternative system, if any
7. Approve the design of the alternative system(s)
8. Select the best alternative system
9. Choose between our current system and the best alternative
10. If an alternative is chosen, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
11. Approve the final report

With a round of applause, the Assembly expressed its appreciation to their Final Report Advisory Committee and Secretariat staff members who supported them.

The members then had an opportunity to review and comment on the draft of a brochure, designed to explain the Assembly's recommendation very briefly and refer the reader to sources of further information. The members would have an opportunity to provide more feedback after the meeting.

At the end of the plenary session, the members completed the last of the four detailed surveys that would assist researchers in studying the Citizens' Assembly process.

Plenary Session: Open Forum for Final Observations

The Chair expressed his admiration for the way the members had acquired knowledge and confidence and for their ability to work through tense situations and make tough decisions together. He thanked them for their continual feedback, which had helped to ensure that the process was the Assembly's own. Most importantly, they had proven the ability of citizens to take on a fundamental role in policy issues where the voice of citizens is particularly important.

The Chair called each member of the Secretariat team to the stage individually to thank them for their contributions, and the Academic Director expressed the team's appreciation to the Chair. The members shared their reflections on their experience and thanked the Chair, the Academic Director, the Secretariat team, and the facilitators. Most importantly, the members spoke with great feeling about their respect and admiration for their fellow members and about the quality of the discussion.

"I'd like to congratulate the other 102 members. When we first met last fall, we were talking about what would constitute a quorum and how many people we had to have here, because the weather was going to be bad – it was wintertime. The attendance here has just blown me away.... it's just amazing over this length of time."

– Harold (Hal) Willis, Assembly Member, Timiskaming – Cochrane

Table 25 | Member Attendance at Citizens' Assembly Meetings
Full attendance = 104 (including the Chair)

Learning Phase		Deliberation Phase	
Weekend One	103	Weekend One	103
Weekend Two	104	Weekend Two	101
Weekend Three	98	Weekend Three	101
Weekend Four	102	Weekend Four	103
Weekend Five	102	Weekend Five	103
Weekend Six	103	Weekend Six	100

As their last official task, the members completed the brief survey they filled out at the end of each weekend. The members then saw a video, created by photographer Ben Li, which combined film clips and still photography to mark the conclusion of the Assembly process.

Lunch

During lunch, by drawing names, materials produced for the Assembly and used in the course of the weekend meetings were distributed to the members as mementos ("Our Shared Values for Working Together" poster, "Principles" poster, maps, parking signs).

Near the end of the lunch, Premier Dalton McGuinty attended at the final farewell to informally address Assembly members. The Premier thanked the members for their commitment, and thanked their families for coping with the members' absences for twelve weekends. The Premier observed that the Assembly's job had been to offer its best advice, and it would now be the people's job to reflect on the Assembly's recommendation and decide whether to accept it or reject it.

As the Assembly member from the Premier's constituency, John Townesend thanked the Premier on behalf of the Assembly for joining them in the concluding moments of the process.

The Citizens' Assembly process would come to an end when the members submitted their report. The outcome of the process was now in the hands of all Ontarians, but in this record of the Assembly's deliberations, the members have the last word.

"I really want to thank my fellow Assembly members. Everyone has had a lot of different opinions, but I have been treated with respect and dignity and I am just so honoured."

– Stephanie Jones, Assembly Member, Niagara Centre

"In my life I have always tried to avoid committees and I have always believed that "consensus" was another word for the lowest form of compromise. That is, until I joined the Citizens' Assembly. 103 people working together to develop the best electoral system for Ontario, that will be of no direct benefit to themselves, has strengthened my belief that people will try to do the right thing when given the opportunity."

– Patrick Heenan, Assembly Member, Mississauga West

"Regardless of the referendum results, our deliberation holds value either way."

– Salvación Villamil, Assembly Member, Niagara Falls

"I was selected on June 4, 2006 as a member of this Assembly. From that point until today, I have been fully engaged in this process and I have been proud to be a part of such a very positive initiative."

– Jennie Stakich, Assembly Member, Hamilton Mountain

"For twelve weekends, we have looked at a banner that says "history in the making," and we have been contributing every fibre of our being into this important work. Indeed, it has been our privilege and deep and humbling responsibility as average citizens to take part in an exercise of direct democracy without precedence in Ontario's history."

– John Townesend, Assembly Member, Ottawa South

11. WORKING GROUPS AND ADVISORY COMMITTEES OF THE CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

[To help manage their time, members volunteered to work together to examine some issues in depth and to advise on important aspects of the process.]

The Assembly members formed working groups and advisory committees to help manage the short time available and to ensure that the members had a voice on important issues of content and process. The Secretariat distributed draft terms of reference for the working groups and advisory committees to the members. After the members approved them, they received the final versions. The terms of reference for the working groups included the question to be explored, the task, the schedule for the work, the members, and contact information for the facilitator. The terms of reference for the advisory committees set out the task, the process, the members, and the members of the Secretariat team who would give them support and information along the way.

WORKING GROUPS

During the learning phase, the Assembly members formed working groups to examine the existing research on a particular topic, discuss how the findings related to the work of the Assembly, identify issues for discussion by the full Assembly, and report back to the Assembly on what they had learned.

Women and Other Under-Represented Groups: What impacts do different electoral systems have on the representation of women and other under-represented groups in the legislature?

Members:

Darcie Beckley, Elgin – Middlesex – London
Catarina Fernandes, London North Centre
Tamara Fick, Essex
Stephanie Jones, Niagara Centre
Bryan Byong-Kuon Kim, Willowdale
Mary Jane McMullen, Windsor – St. Clair
Melinda Selmys, Etobicoke Centre
Ann Thomas, Peterborough

Political Parties: How do different electoral systems affect the role of political parties in elections?

Members:

Catherine Baquero, Beaches – East York
Maureen Grace, Renfrew – Nipissing – Pembroke
John Toll, Erie – Lincoln
Peter Warren, Nepean – Carleton

Stable and Effective Government: What is stable government and how stable are governments under different electoral systems?

Members:

Rosemarie Arsenault, Hamilton East
Taylor Gilbert, Don Valley West
Patrick Heenan, Mississauga West
Susan Tiley, Stoney Creek

Geographic Representation: What is the impact of different electoral systems on geographic representation?

Members:

Lise Breton, Timmins – James Bay
Donald Brickett, Algoma Manitoulin
Julia Craner, Kenora – Rainy River
Christopher Doody, Ottawa – Vanier
Ronald Green, St. Catharines
John Townesend, Ottawa South

Ailsa Henderson, a faculty member from the University of Toronto, served as facilitator for these four working groups. She provided each group with research summaries and articles, facilitated meetings of the groups, acted as a resource between meetings, connected members with other experts when needed, and offered advice on each group's report to the Assembly. These four working groups reported to the full Assembly during Weekend Six of the learning phase.

During the deliberation phase, the Assembly established a fifth working group:

Ancillary Issues: Should the final report mention any issues that are related to – but not an integral part of – the Assembly's mandate to recommend an electoral system for Ontario?

Members:

Carolyn Agasild, Mississauga East
Dianne Carey, Hastings – Frontenac – Lennox and Addington
Tara Currie, Ottawa Centre
Tamara Fick, Essex
Stephanie Jones, Niagara Centre
Marcia Soeda, Kitchener Centre
David Viitala, Sault Ste. Marie
Harold Willis, Timiskaming – Cochrane

Secretariat Support:

Kelly Burke, Senior Advisor and Counsel to the Chair
Karen Cohl, Executive Director

The Ancillary Issues group provided a written report in Weekend Four of the deliberation phase and made a presentation to the full Assembly during Weekend Five.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES

Final Report

Members:

Elsayed Abdelaal, Guelph – Wellington
Carolyn Agasild, Mississauga East
Margo Bath, Durham
Matthew Certosimo, Dufferin – Peel – Wellington – Grey
Nancy Collins, Oshawa
Tom Engelhart, Etobicoke – Lakeshore
Thomas Ricci, York Centre
Bill Ritz, Waterloo – Wellington

Secretariat Support:

Dahlia Klinger, Senior Policy Advisor
Huma Pabani, Senior Communications Officer

This committee reviewed and commented on the design and content of the final report before the full Assembly reviewed and approved it. They also provided input on this report on the Citizens' Assembly process.

Consultation Submissions

Members:

Carl Berger, Ottawa West – Nepean
Tara Currie, Ottawa Centre
Mayte Darraidou, Toronto Centre – Rosedale
Marie McLaren, Haliburton – Victoria – Brock
Patricia Miller, Oak Ridges
Elaine Pommer, Simcoe – Grey
Marcia Soeda, Kitchener Centre
Leana Swanson, Brant
Laura Wells, Oakville

Secretariat Support:

Mark Lyons, Policy Analyst and Researcher
Michael MacKenzie, Policy Analyst and Researcher

This committee reviewed a cross-section of written submissions and commented on the summaries of submissions prepared by the Secretariat. The members identified notable submissions to recommend to fellow Assembly members and commented on *What We Read*, a summary of the views expressed in the written submissions.

Deliberation Planning

Members:

Matthew Certosimo, Dufferin – Peel – Wellington – Grey
Andreo Cornacchia, Markham
Arita Droog, Bruce – Grey – Owen Sound
Thomas Ricci, York Centre
Bruno Steinke, Lanark – Carleton
Thomas Taylor, Ottawa – Orléans
Jeff Witt, Ancaster – Dundas – Flamborough – Aldershot

Secretariat Support:

Kelly Burke, Senior Advisor and Counsel to the Chair
Karen Cohl, Executive Director

This committee helped the Chair to develop a plan for conducting the deliberation phase and provided ongoing advice to the Chair on the deliberation process. To recognize the relationship between the deliberation process and the final report, one member of the Deliberation Planning Advisory Committee joined the Final Report Advisory Committee and one member of the Final Report Advisory Committee joined the Deliberation Planning Advisory Committee.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Members:

Jordan Elliott, Parry Sound – Muskoka
Al Joseph, Scarborough – Rouge River
Wendy Lawrence, Northumberland
Peter Soroka, Lambton – Kent – Middlesex

Secretariat Support:

Karen Cohl, Executive Director
Susan Pigott, Executive Lead, Citizen Engagement

This committee reviewed the evaluator's reports and discussed ways to improve the process as it progressed. They also provided advice on issues regarding the monitoring and evaluation activities.

PART IV:
DESCRIPTION OF THE ONTARIO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY'S MIXED MEMBER PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM

PART III: DESCRIPTION OF THE ONTARIO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY'S MIXED MEMBER PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM

[Learn about the new electoral system the Citizens' Assembly designed and recommended for Ontario.]

This chapter complements the Assembly's report, *One Ballot, Two Votes: A New Way to Vote in Ontario.* It provides a more in-depth description of the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system recommended by the Assembly, and compares the system with MMP systems used in other jurisdictions.

OVERVIEW OF THE ASSEMBLY'S MIXED MEMBER PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM

This section is excerpted from the Assembly's report, "One Ballot, Two Votes: A New Way to Vote in Ontario."

Key Features of the System

- Voters get two votes on a single ballot – one for a local candidate and a second one for a party. [See page 152 for a sample ballot.]
- Election results are proportional: The share of seats in the legislature that each party wins is roughly equal to its share of the party vote. For example, if a party receives 25% of the vote, it wins about 25% of the seats in the legislature. In Ontario's current system, Single Member Plurality (also called "First Past the Post"), a party can win many votes, yet end up having few seats or no seats.
- The new system retains strong local representation through 90 local members. Local members are elected in the same way they are now. The candidate who wins the most votes represents the electoral district.
- Thirty-nine members (called "list members") are elected province-wide through the party vote side of the ballot. These members provide all Ontarians with a new kind of representation. For example, list members will complement the work of local members on issues that may affect a region or the whole province.
- Local members and list members together make up 129 seats in the legislature. By adding a total of 22 seats , the new system achieves proportionality and provides more representation for Ontario's population, which has grown by about 1.4 million since the 1996 Census of Population was taken. At 129 seats, the legislature will be close to the size it was from 1987 to 1999, when it had 130 seats. Ontario will still have fewer representatives for its population than any other province or territory in Canada.

The Ontario legislature currently has 103 seats. Beginning with the next election on October 10, 2007, there will be 107 seats. Please visit Elections Ontario's website for more information on electoral districts: www.electionsontario.on.ca.

How the System Works

- Each party nominates its local candidates (as now), as well as a list of candidates for the whole province in the order that it wants them to be elected. Before the election, parties must submit their lists, and the details of the process they used to create them, to Elections Ontario.

  Elections Ontario will publish this information widely, so voters will know who is on a list before they vote for a party. Voters will be able to assess whether a party created its list in a fair and transparent way. Voters will also be able to see whether a party's list has a good balance of men and women, includes candidates from all of Ontario's regions, and reflects the diversity of Ontario's population.

- Voters vote for a local candidate and for a party. The party vote determines the share of seats a party wins in the legislature.

- If a party doesn't have enough local members elected to match its share of the party vote, it gets a "top-up" of seats in the legislature. These seats are filled by list members elected by voters across the province through the party side of the ballot. The list seats are used to compensate for lack of proportionality in the election of local members.

  For example, imagine a legislature with 100 seats. If a party receives 25% of the party vote, it is entitled to about 25 seats. If it elects only 20 local members, the top 5 members from its list are elected to bring its total share of seats in the legislature up to 25%.

- A party must have clear support – at least 3% of the party vote across the province – for candidates from its list to be elected to the legislature.

Table 26 | The Citizens' Assembly's Mixed Member Proportional System

Number of Local Districts: 90	Number of List Seats: 39	Total Number of Seats: 129
Local Vote: Plurality	Ratio of Local to List Seats: 70:30	Structure of List Tier: Province-wide
Type of List: Closed	List Creation: Transparent process	Number of Votes on Ballot: Two
Dual Candidacy: Optional	Overhangs: Balance seats not permitted	Legal Threshold: 3% of party vote
Formula: Hare	Local Seat Vacancies: By-election	List Vacancies: Next on list

MIXED MEMBER PROPORTIONAL SYSTEMS IN OTHER JURISDICTIONS

The MMP system originated in 1949, in the former West Germany, and has been used in Germany to elect national and almost all sub-national governments since then. In 1993, New Zealanders voted in a referendum to replace their Single Member Plurality system with MMP. New Zealand has used MMP to elect representatives to its parliament since 1996.

In the United Kingdom, Scotland and Wales have both used an MMP system since 1999. MMP is also used in a number of other jurisdictions, including Bolivia and Venezuela.

There is diversity in the MMP systems used around the world. This chapter draws primarily on examples from Germany, New Zealand, Scotland, and Wales. As the first country to adopt MMP, Germany has been studied extensively by electoral system experts. The case of New Zealand is of particular relevance to Ontario because the country changed from a Single Member Plurality system to an MMP system. Like Ontario, New Zealand has a Westminster parliamentary system and a unicameral legislature (a legislature consisting of one house). The experiences in Scotland and Wales are also relevant to Ontario because they are sub-national jurisdictions that have recently adopted MMP systems.

BASIC STRUCTURE OF MMP

An MMP system combines local representation with proportionality. It provides local representation through single-member districts, like those in Single Member Plurality systems. It also ensures proportionality through a multi-member list tier, which is used to compensate parties for disproportional results produced by elections in the single-member districts.

PART IV: DESCRIPTION OF THE ONTARIO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY'S MIXED MEMBER PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM

MMP systems vary in the number of single-member districts and the number of list or compensatory seats. These numbers determine the ratio of local seats to list seats and the total number of seats in the legislature.

The Assembly's MMP system comprises 90 single-member districts or local seats (70% of the legislature) and 39 province-wide list seats (30% of the legislature), for a total of 129 seats.

Local Seats

Like almost all MMP systems in the world, the Assembly's system uses the Single Member Plurality system (Ontario's current system) to fill its 90 local seats. Local candidates are nominated by parties or run as independents. The votes are counted in each electoral district and the candidate with the most votes is elected. The winner needs more votes than other candidates, but does not need to receive a majority (50% +1) of the votes. The winning candidate represents the district in the legislature.

Electoral District Boundaries

If Ontario adopts an MMP system, the province's electoral district boundaries would change. An Ontario boundaries commission would have to be established to redraw the boundaries for the 90 local districts. A boundaries commission is a non-partisan body, usually made up of a chairperson and a small number of experts.

In undertaking their work, boundaries commissions are typically instructed to respect the principle of "representation by population." This is the principle that each vote, in each electoral district, should carry equal weight. In order to achieve this, boundaries commissions establish a "quotient." A quotient is the average population of an electoral district, calculated by dividing the total population of the province by the number of electoral districts. Once the quotient is established, boundaries commissions attempt to ensure that the population of each district is as close to the quotient as possible.

Using the current population of Ontario, the quotient for the Assembly's local districts would be about 135,100 people:

12,160,000 Ontarians ÷ 90 = 135,100

It is a recognized principle that exact representation by population is not always appropriate. For example, the most recent Federal Electoral Boundaries Commission for Ontario, established on April 16, 2002, was permitted to make variations from the quotient "where necessary or desirable to:

1. respect the community of interest or community of identity in, or the historical pattern of, an electoral district in the province, or
2. ensure a manageable geographic size for electoral districts in sparsely populated, rural or northern regions of the province."[58]

Where variations are deemed necessary, for example to reflect differences in population densities, boundaries commissions are usually instructed to stay within 25% of the quotient – above or below. However, in extraordinary circumstances, the population of districts may be permitted to vary even more than 25%.

[58] Federal Electoral Boundaries Commission for Ontario, *Commission's Proposals* (Ottawa: Elections Canada, 2003).

In designing its MMP system, the Assembly was aware that provincial districts vary in population by up to 25% and, in a few cases, more than 25%. The Assembly expressed the view that local districts should not deviate from representation by population any more than under the current system. This means that the share of districts in each region of the province should stay approximately the same.

For example, with the boundary lines for the 2007 Ontario election, about 10% of the districts are in the North (11 out of 107). Therefore, under the Assembly's MMP system, the North would retain about 10% of the local districts (9 out of 90). Any six current districts would likely become about five districts under the MMP system.

Ratio of Local Seats to List Seats

The list tier is designed to compensate for lack of proportionality in the election of local members. The extent to which this can be achieved depends, in part, on the size of the list tier.

The Assembly's MMP system has a list tier that makes up 30% of the total number of seats in the legislature. This is enough to ensure proportionality except where results from the election of local members are highly disproportional.

Table 27 compares the percentage of local seats and list seats in the Assembly's MMP system with MPP systems used in several other jurisdictions, using the base size (that is, not including balance seats) of the legislatures in those jurisdictions as of the most recent elections.

Rein Taagepera and Matthew Shugart, *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 131. According to the authors, "at least one-quarter of seats should be adjustment [compensatory] seats" to achieve proportionality.

Table 27 | Percentage of Local Seats and List Seats in MMP Systems

	Local Seats	List Seats	Total Seats	Local seats (%)	List seats (%)
Citizens' Assembly's recommendation	90	39	129	69.77	30.23
National Assembly of Wales	40	20	60	66.67	33.33
New Zealand House of Representatives	69	51	120	57.50	42.50
Scottish Parliament	73	56	129	56.59	43.41
German Bundestag	299	299	598	50.00	50.00
German Länder (provinces)					
North Rhine-Westphalia	128	53	181	70.72	29.28
Lower Saxony	100	55	155	64.52	35.48
Berlin	78	52	130	60.00	40.00
Schleswig-Holstein	45	30	75	60.00	40.00
Baden-Württemberg	70	50	120	58.33	41.67
Bavaria	92	88	180	51.11	48.89
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	36	35	71	50.70	49.30
Rhineland-Palatinate	51	50	101	50.50	49.50
Brandenburg	44	44	88	50.00	50.00
Hessen	55	55	110	50.00	50.00
Saxony	60	60	120	50.00	50.00
Thuringia	44	44	88	50.00	50.00
Saxony-Anhalt	49	50	99	49.49	50.51

Note: Data derived from Louis Massicotte, "To Create or to Copy? Electoral Systems in the German Länder," *German Politics* (2003) Vol. 12, No.1: 1-22 and government websites.

List Seats

Structure of the List Tier

In MMP systems, list members are either elected from a particular region to represent that region, or they are elected from the country (or province) as a whole to represent all citizens. In the Assembly's MMP system, the 39 list seats are counted and allocated province-wide. The 39 list members are elected through the party side of the ballot and represent all Ontarians.

The purpose of the province-wide list tier is to provide parties with as much compensation as possible for disproportional results in the election of local members, while maintaining a legislature of a reasonable size. All other system design elements being equal, a province-wide list tier achieves proportionality with a comparatively small number of list seats.

In Germany, Scotland, and Wales, list members are elected from regions. In New Zealand, list members are elected countrywide. In nine out of thirteen German Länder (provinces), list members are elected to represent their Land as a whole.

Type of List

In an MMP system, parties nominate candidates to their lists. Those candidates are eligible to be elected through the party vote.

The MMP system designed by the Assembly uses a "closed list" – the type of list used in almost every MMP jurisdiction. Parties list their candidates in the order they want them to be elected and voters can't change this order (unlike "open lists"). This provides a measure of predictability for voters. For example, if a party wins five list seats, the first five eligible candidates on its list, after removing the names of people who won in local elections, will be elected to the legislature.

In a closed list, the names of parties, as opposed to the names of candidates, appear on the party side of the ballot. In open list systems where voters are given an opportunity to vote for a party or select a candidate from a party list, the research shows that a majority of voters prefer to vote for a party and that the candidate-option often has limited effect on who is elected.

A closed list, with the ballot listing only the parties, also makes the ballot simpler for voters. With a provincial tier, an open list ballot would have to include the names of numerous candidates for each party.

With a closed list, there is a greater likelihood that members elected from the list will come from different regions of the province and will include more women and others currently under-represented in the legislature. This is because the list cannot be re-ordered and because parties will have an incentive to ensure that their list appeals to as many voters as possible. In New Zealand, for example, the representation of women and other under-represented groups in Parliament has increased since the introduction of its MMP system, which uses a closed list.

Creation of Lists

All electoral systems that use party lists require parties to publish their lists before the election. This way, voters know who will be elected if a party wins list seats.

The Assembly's MMP system requires parties to submit their lists, and the details of the process they used to create them, to Elections Ontario, a non-partisan body. Elections Ontario will publish this information widely, so voters will be able to assess whether a party created its list in a fair and transparent way. Voters will also be able to see whether a party's list has a good balance of men and women, includes candidates from all of Ontario's regions, and reflects the diversity of Ontario's population.

In MMP jurisdictions, parties nominate candidates to their lists in a variety of ways. In New Zealand, there is no legal requirement for the creation of lists. The Labour Party and the National Party determine their lists at regional conventions. The lists are then assembled by a special national committee of each party. The New Zealand Green Party creates its list by a vote of all party members.

In Germany, seats are allocated regionally on the basis of the national vote.

In rare cases in MMP systems, a party has attempted to manipulate the system by splitting into two parties—one party runs local candidates only and the other party runs list candidates only. This is sometimes referred to as a "decoy list." Decoy lists result in an inflated seat total for the parties because their seat shares are calculated separately, even though they are really one party. It is very unlikely that this would occur in Ontario, given the political culture. Decoy lists have not been attempted in the four jurisdictions examined here (Germany, New Zealand, Scotland, and Wales). If there was a concern that parties might manipulate the system in this way, the practice could be prohibited by law.

In Germany, the process for creating party lists is mandated by law. Party members vote at a special nomination meeting, by secret ballot, to elect the candidates who will appear on the list.

Developing a list gives parties an opportunity to consider their overall objectives – more so than in the nomination of local candidates. The experience in MMP jurisdictions suggests that parties do take advantage of this opportunity. For example, the New Zealand Labour Party has established that its list should:

- fairly represent Maori people, women, men, ethnic groups such as Pacific Island peoples, age, youth and people with disabilities;
- ensure there is due regard for the geographic spread of the population;
- recognise that many groups of people, previously under-represented in Parliament, have skills which will enhance the Parliamentary process; and
- ensure that there is a spread of all these groups across the list.

The Ballot

In the Assembly's MMP system, voters get two votes on a single ballot. On one side of the ballot, they vote for the party they prefer. This vote determines the total share of seats a party wins in the legislature. On the other side, they vote for a candidate to represent their local district. The ballot is "categorical," which means that voters select a candidate and a party, but do not rank the candidates or parties according to their preferences.

The example below shows what a ballot might look like under the Assembly's MMP system. Elections Ontario would design the actual ballot, and it might look quite different. In this sample ballot, candidates are ordered alphabetically on the right side, matched to their parties. The district has an independent candidate, Thérèse Turquoise, running for election. Parties F and D are not running local candidates in the district, but voters can still support these parties.

New Zealand Labour Party. 2003. *Constitution and Rules*. (Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Labour Party). Available online: http://www.labour.org.nz/labour_team/constitution/ASTFIL28018.doc pp. 21-22.

Figure 5: Sample MMP Ballot

You have two votes | Vous disposez de deux votes
Party Vote
This vote determines what share of seats each party will receive. Vote by putting an X next to the party of your choice.
Vote de parti
Ce vote détermine la part des sièges que recevra chaque parti. Votez en inscrivant un X à côté du parti de votre choix.
Vote for only one party
Votez pour un seul parti
Local Candidate Vote
This vote determines which candidate will be elected to represent your district. Vote by putting an X next to the candidate of your choice.
Vote pour le candidat local
Ce vote détermine quel candidat sera élu pour représenter votre circonscription. Votez en mettant un X à côté du candidat de votre choix.
Vote for only one candidate
Votez pour un seul candidat
Vote Here
Votez ici
Party/Parti C
Olive, Oliver
Party/Parti E
Tangerine, Tony
Independent/
Candidate indépendante
Turquoise, Thérèse
Party/Parti B
Violet, Veronica
Party/Parti A
Yellow, Yasmin
Party/Parti F
No local candidate/
Aucun candidat local
Party/Parti D
No local candidate/
Aucun candidat local

The "double ballot" gives voters several options. It allows voters to

- vote for a candidate and for that candidate's party
- vote for a candidate and for a *different* party
- vote for an independent candidate if one is running in the district *and* for a party
- vote for a party even if that party does not have a candidate running in the district
- cast only one vote – either for a candidate or for a party – without spoiling the ballot

Both Germany and New Zealand use a double ballot. In some MMP systems, such as the one used in the German province of Baden-Württemberg, voters choose a local candidate only. In this case, the single vote determines which candidate wins and also each party's share of the vote.

Dual Candidacy

There are two ways to be elected in an MMP system: in a local district or from a party list. The Assembly's MMP system, like most other MMP systems, allows for "dual candidacy." This means that candidates can run locally, be on a party list, or both. If a candidate seeks election in both ways and wins the local race, the candidate must represent that district and is no longer eligible for a list seat, regardless of position on the party list. The candidate's name is crossed off the list, and that position is taken by the next candidate on the list who has not won in a local district.

Dual candidacy allows parties to pursue the electoral strategy they think is best, knowing that the voters will assess that strategy through their party votes. In jurisdictions with MMP systems, parties nominate some list candidates who do not seek election in local districts. These candidates may offer expertise in a specific area (for example, the environment or finance) or otherwise strengthen the party's list. Alternatively, a party may nominate a candidate to run only in a local district, particularly if that district is seen as a "safe seat" or as easily winnable.

The more common practice in MMP systems is for list candidates to run locally as well. In the 2002 German election, over 90% of the elected list members also ran locally. In the 2002 New Zealand election, 84% of list members ran locally. This gives these candidates more visibility and strong connections to particular areas or regions. Parties that have general support across a country or province, but little likelihood of winning many local seats, may still want to run candidates in local districts. This gives parties a local presence in the election and allows their candidates to gain political skills and experience by running locally.

Permitting dual candidacy recognizes that there can be only one winner in local ridings under a Single Member Plurality system. Candidates who have strong public support can lose local races. For example, in the 2003 Ontario election, the *winning* candidate in one district received 35.87% of the vote. In another district, a *losing* candidate received 45.16% of the vote. As this example shows, candidates who lose can actually have more support than other candidates who win.

Overhangs and Balance Seats

The basic principle of MMP systems is that the share of seats a party wins in the legislature is roughly equal to its share of the party vote. Parties always keep the local seats they win. However, it is possible for a party to win more local seats than its entitlement based on its share of the party vote. These seats are sometimes referred to as "overhangs." The number of overhangs produced in an election is a function of the design of the electoral system and voting behaviour.

In some MMP jurisdictions, seats (sometimes called "balance seats") are temporarily added to the legislature to adjust for overhangs. These balance seats allow a party that wins more local seats than its vote share to retain these seats, while ensuring that other parties still receive their full share of list seats. The balance seats stay in place until the next election. Seat allocation after the next election uses the original size of the legislature as the starting point.

The Assembly's MMP system does not allow for the addition of balance seats. This ensures that the size of the Ontario legislature will remain fixed at 129 seats. If overhangs are produced, local seats are still awarded to the winners in each district and the list seats are distributed to parties that did not generate overhangs in proportion to their share of the party vote. This can reduce the proportionality of the election results because if one party wins more seats than its vote share, another party or parties win fewer seats.

It is difficult to predict how Ontarians will vote under an MMP system. However, past voting patterns in Ontario and voting patterns in MMP jurisdictions suggest that there will be few or no overhangs produced in most elections under the Assembly's MMP system. A small number of overhangs (1 to 3 seats) would have little impact on proportionality. In a very unusual election, where a large party wins a very large number of local seats but a much lower share of the party vote, the impact on proportionality would be greater.

Germany's and New Zealand's MMP systems allow balance seats. In practice, the number of balance seats added to their legislatures is generally small when compared with the overall size of their legislatures. For example, in the four elections in New Zealand since the adoption of MMP, one election resulted in a single balance seat. In Germany, where overhangs are more common, an election has produced as many as 16 balance seats. However, because the German legislature has 598 seats, this represented an increase of 2.7% in the size of the legislature.

Scotland and Wales do not allow balance seats. Due to voting patterns and the design of their systems, both Scotland and Wales have so far produced a slightly higher percentage of overhangs than has been typical in Germany and New Zealand.

Threshold

A threshold is a minimum level of support that a party must obtain in order to win seats in the legislature. There are two types of thresholds: effective thresholds and legal thresholds. All electoral systems have an effective threshold, which is a mathematical consequence of the design of the electoral system, the number of parties, and the vote distribution. A legal threshold sets out in law the minimum level of support a party requires to win list seats.

Thresholds affect the proportionality of election results and the number of parties represented in the legislature. In general, as the threshold rises, the results become correspondingly less proportional and fewer parties win seats in the legislature.

In the Assembly's MMP system, one seat is equal to about 0.78% of the total number of seats in the legislature. The system's legal threshold is set higher – at 3% of the party vote. For example, in the last Ontario election, approximately 4.5 million people voted. To meet the 3% threshold of support, a party would have needed about 135,000 votes.

The 3% threshold strikes a balance between having more parties represented in the legislature and preventing parties with very little public support from winning seats. The threshold ensures that all parties allocated list seats in the legislature will have significant support from voters. If a party wins a local seat but does not meet the 3% threshold province-wide, it retains the local seat but is not compensated with list seats.

Again, it is not possible to predict with certainty how Ontario voters will vote under the new system. However, based on past voting patterns in Ontario and the experience in MMP jurisdictions, the Assembly believes that the 3% threshold will ensure that the legislature does not become fractured by a proliferation of parties with very little public support.

Since 1955, the Liberal Party, the Progressive Conservative Party, and the New Democratic Party have been the only parties to win seats in the Ontario legislature. Only two other parties have come close to winning 3% of the vote. In 2003 the Green Party won 2.8% of the vote and in 1990 the Family Coalition Party won 2.7%.

In contrast to the Assembly's threshold, New Zealand has a "dual threshold": If a party receives 5% of the party vote *or* wins at least one local seat but does not obtain 5% of the vote, it is eligible for list seats. A dual threshold can be easier to meet than a single threshold. In the 2005 New Zealand election, eight parties won seats. Four of those parties did not meet the 5%

For the Liberal Party this includes seats won by Liberal-Labour, for the Progressive Conservative Party this includes a seat won by a Progressive Conservative Independent, and for the New Democratic Party this includes seats won by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation.

threshold (in fact, none of those four received even 3% of the party vote). In that election, the two major parties received 80% of the party vote between them.

The New Zealand experience offers some evidence that voters will punish a small party that attempts to exert more influence than its share of seats would justify. After the 1996 election, the small New Zealand First Party (NZF) entered into a coalition government with the larger National Party. During its time in power, some voters felt that NZF exerted undue influence as part of the governing coalition. In the following election, NZF's support dropped from 13.5% to 4.2% of the party vote. This drop in support can be attributed, in part, to voters' displeasure with NZF's performance.[1]

Germany also has a double threshold that gives parties two chances to win a seat. Germany's threshold is set at 5% of the party vote or three local seats. In the 2005 election, five parties won seats. All of them obtained support well above 5% of the party vote.

Scotland and Wales do not have legal thresholds, but because the counting of votes and allocation of seats is done regionally, their effective thresholds are relatively high.

Formula

Every proportional electoral system uses a formula to allocate seats. Because the shares of party votes do not come out as whole numbers, systems use various mathematical formulas to smooth out the fractions and assign the seats proportionally.

There are a number of different formulas, and the key difference among them is how the last seat is allocated. A more proportional formula tends to award the last seat to one of the smaller parties. A less proportional formula tends to allocate the last seat to a larger party. The Assembly's MMP system uses the "Hare formula." It is one of the most proportional formulas and is the simplest one.

The Hare formula works as follows:

Step 1: All the party votes cast in the election are counted, excluding those votes cast for parties that do not meet the 3% threshold.

Step 2: The Hare formula is used to determine the "quota." The quota (Q) is equal to the total number of votes (V) divided by the total number of seats in the legislature (S).

$$\frac{V}{S} = Q$$

In an MMP system, *all* seats are distributed proportionally, including seats filled by candidates who win in local districts. Therefore, in the Assembly's MMP system, the number of votes is divided by 129 – the total number of seats in the legislature – to determine the quota.

$$\frac{V}{129} = Q$$

[1] Jack Nagel, "Stormy Passage to Safe Harbour? Proportional Representation in New Zealand," in *Steps Toward Making Every Vote Count: Electoral System Reform in Canada and its Provinces*, ed. Henry Milner, (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004).

Step 3: Once the quota has been determined, each party's vote total is divided by the quota. This establishes the number of seats a party is entitled to receive. The whole number is the number of "full quota" seats awarded to each party. For example, if Party A's share of seats is 51.77, it is awarded 51 full quota seats. If Party B's share of seats is 38.70, it is awarded 38 full quota seats.

Step 4: After the full quota seats have been distributed, there will be a small number of seats left to be filled. The Hare formula uses the "largest remainders method" to allocate these final seats. The seats are distributed to parties with the largest remaining fractions of a quota. In the example above, Party A's remainder (.77) is larger than Party B's remainder (.70). Therefore, Party A is awarded the next seat. This process continues until all seats are allocated in approximate proportion to each party's share of the party vote.

Seat Vacancies

All electoral systems have rules to fill seats that may become vacant between general elections. In the Assembly's MMP system, if a local seat becomes vacant, a by-election will be held. This is the practice under Ontario's current system. If a list seat becomes vacant, Elections Ontario will select the next available person on that party's list as submitted for the previous election.

In New Zealand, until 2005, there was a rule that if a list member decided to leave the party that had been allocated the seat for that member, the member would have to resign and the seat would be awarded to the next person on that party's list. The Ontario legislature would be free to adopt a similar rule.

HYPOTHETICAL ELECTION SCENARIOS UNDER THE ASSEMBLY'S MMP SYSTEM

This section explains the mechanics of the Assembly's MMP system using two hypothetical election scenarios.

In MMP systems, it is possible for a party to win more local seats than its share of the party vote gives it. These seats are called "overhangs." In the first hypothetical election scenario, there are no overhangs. The second scenario shows how results are calculated when one or more parties win overhang seats.

It is not advisable to rely exclusively on past Ontario elections to determine how the Assembly's MMP system will operate, because it is impossible to predict voting behaviour under a new system. Nonetheless, it is informative to think about current voting patterns and how they might change if the new system is adopted.

The following scenarios are for illustration purposes only. Past voting patterns in Ontario and in existing MMP systems were used to create reasonable but hypothetical election results based on the following three assumptions.

1. **Proportional systems are associated with multiparty systems.** In these hypothetical elections, two dominant parties, one medium-sized party, and two small parties win seats in the legislature.
2. **Dominant parties will continue to do well at the local level.** Under Ontario's current system, it is common for dominant political parties to win 50% or 60% of the seats with approximately 40% of the vote. In Scenario 1, Party A wins approximately 52% of the local seats. In Scenario 2, Party A wins approximately 61% of the local seats.

3. **Some voters will split their votes.** Under the Assembly's MMP system, voters cast two votes on a single ballot – one for a party and one for a local candidate. Vote splitting occurs when voters support candidates from one party at the local level and support a *different* party with their party vote. In New Zealand, roughly one third of all voters split their votes.

   In MMP systems, a dominant party's share of the party vote is typically a few percentage points lower than its share of the local vote. The reverse is commonly true of the vote shares of smaller parties. In other words, when voters split their votes, they normally support candidates of the dominant parties at the local level and support smaller parties on the party side of the ballot. The hypothetical results used in both scenarios reflect these patterns.

Scenario 1

In this scenario, there are no overhangs produced: No party wins more local seats than its share of the party vote. Each of the five parties that wins more than 3% of the party vote (the threshold) is awarded list seats in order to achieve proportional election results.

Table 28, Column A shows the total number of party votes cast for each party in this hypothetical election. Column B shows the vote share won by each party. Column C shows the number of local seats won by each party. These are hypothetical results that reflect historical trends in Ontario. Two dominant parties won most of the local seats and a third party won the rest. The following steps explain how the election results would be calculated, using this data, under the Assembly's MMP system.

Table 28 | Scenario 1: Hypothetical Election Results Under MMP

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	Party Votes	Party Vote (%)	Local Seats	List Seats	Total Seats	Total Seats (%)	Disproportionality (F – B)
Party A	1,783,567	39.14	47	5	52	40.31	1.17
Party B	1,333,266	29.26	31	8	39	30.23	0.97
Party C	818,498	17.96	12	12	24	18.60	0.64
Party D	325,458	7.14	0	9	9	6.98	-0.16
Party E	183,453	4.03	0	5	5	3.88	-0.15
Others	112,431	2.47	–	–	–	–	-2.47
Total	4,556,673	100.00	90	39	129	100.00	5.56
						Loosemore-Hanby Index:	5.56/2 = 2.78

Calculating Results

Step 1: Determine the Quota

- Count all the party votes listed in Table 28, Column A. There are approximately 4.5 million votes cast in this hypothetical election.
- Exclude the votes cast for parties that do not meet the 3% threshold. In this example, several parties (see "Others") together won 2.47% of the party vote. All these parties are excluded from the following calculations.
- Use the Hare formula to calculate the quota:

$$\frac{V}{S} = Q$$

- Q is the quota, V is the total number of votes cast, and S is the total number of seats in the legislature.
- In this scenario, there are a total of 4,556,673 votes, but 112,431 were cast for parties that did not reach the threshold. This leaves a total of 4,444,242 votes cast for parties that will be awarded seats (4,556,673 - 112,431 = 4,444,242). The quota is therefore calculated as follows:

$$\frac{4,444,242}{129} = 34,451$$

- In MMP systems, the objective is to achieve proportionality in the legislature as a whole. This means that the total number of votes must be divided by the total number of seats in the legislature (129), even though 90 seats are from local districts and 39 seats are from the list tier.

Step 2: Distribute the Seats

- Divide each party's vote totals by the quota to determine the number of seats each party should be awarded. The results are presented in Table 29, Column C. For example, Party A has 51 full quota seats plus a remainder of .77. This is calculated by dividing Party A's total vote count (1,783,567) by the quota (34,451). Party D meanwhile has 9 full quota seats plus a remainder of .45 (325,458 total votes ÷ the quota of 34,451).

Table 29 | Scenario 1: Distributing Seats Under MMP

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	Party Votes	Party Vote (%)	Quota: 34,451	Full Quota Seats	L-R Seats*	Total Seats
Party A	1,783,567	39.14	51.77	51	1	52
Party B	1,333,266	29.26	38.70	38	1	39
Party C	818,498	17.96	23.76	23	1	24
Party D	325,458	7.14	9.45	9	0	9
Party E	183,453	4.03	5.33	5	0	5
Others	112,431	2.47	–	–	–	–
Total	4,556,673	100.00		126	3	129

*Largest Remainder Seats

- Distribute full quota seats. In this scenario, Party A earned 51 full quota seats, so it is awarded 51 seats. Each party is awarded seats in the legislature according to the number of full quota seats earned. In this scenario, there are 126 full quota seats (see Table 29, Column D).
- Distribute the largest remainder seats. Once the 126 full quota seats have been distributed, there are still 3 seats left to fill because the legislature has a total of 129 seats. These 3 seats are distributed to the parties that have the largest remainders. Party A has the largest remainder (.77) so it gets the first seat. Party C has the second largest remainder (.76) so it gets the second seat. Party B has the third largest remainder (.70) so it receives the third and last seat.
- Add the full quota seats and largest remainder seats together to determine the total number of seats each party should be awarded.
- Count the local votes and award the 90 local seats. See Table 28, Column C.
- Allocate the 39 list seats. List seats are distributed to make up the difference between the number of seats a party should have, given its share of the party vote, and the number of local seats it won. In this scenario, Party A won 47 local seats, but it should have 52 seats (see Table 29, Column F). Party A gets 5 list seats to make up the difference. Party D should have 9 seats, but since it did not win any local seats it is compensated with 9 list seats (see Table 28, Column D).

Type of Government

Under the Assembly's MMP system there are two ways for a party to win a majority of the seats.

1. By winning a majority of the party vote (after excluding votes for parties that do not meet the threshold)

2. By winning 65 local seats – a majority of the total number of seats in the legislative.

Table 28, Column F shows the final outcome of this hypothetical election. No party won a majority of the seats. Party A won the greatest share of seats in the legislature (40.31%) and would most likely form the government. Party A would have to decide whether to form a single-party minority government or a coalition government.

To govern as a single-party minority, Party A would need to obtain the formal or informal support of other parties in order to pass legislation. To govern as a coalition, Party A would enter into formal partnerships with one or more of the other parties. With enough support from other parties, Party A could form a coalition majority government. These are governments made up of two or more parties that *together* have a majority of seats in the legislature. This is the most common form of government in MMP systems. In this election scenario, there are several combinations of parties that could produce a majority coalition government. Alternatively, Party A could form a coalition with a smaller party (e.g., Party D or E) and form a minority coalition government.

Disproportionality

Proportional electoral systems are designed to ensure that each party's share of seats closely approximates its share of the party vote. "Disproportionality" is the difference between a party's share of the seats and its share of the vote. This is shown in Column G in Table 28.

In this scenario, Party A receives a small "seat bonus" – a seat share that is larger than its vote share. Party A receives 39.14% of the party vote but receives 40.31% of the total number of seats in the legislature: a difference of 1.17%. Party D receives a small "seat deficit" – a seat share that is smaller than its vote share. Party D receives 7.14% of the party vote and receives 6.98% of the seats: a difference of 0.16%.

Levels of disproportionality are a function of the design of an electoral system *and* voting patterns. No electoral system is perfectly proportional. A threshold, whether legal or effective, will produce some disproportionality because votes cast for parties that do not reach the threshold are not translated into seats. The Hare formula and other formulas are designed to distribute seats proportionally to parties that meet the threshold, but no formula can produce perfectly proportional results. Some disproportionality can also be produced when one party wins more local seats than its entitlement based on its share of the party vote.

Disproportionality for the election as a whole is calculated by adding up the differences between each party's share of the vote and its share of the seats.[6] Table 28, Column G, shows that this election scenario produced approximately 2.78% disproportionality. To put this in perspective, the 2005 election in New Zealand produced 2.18% disproportionality. The 2005 election in Germany produced 3.85% disproportionality. The 2003 elections in Scotland and Wales produced 12.40% and 14.20% disproportionality respectively. In the 1999 and 2003 elections in Ontario, the results produced 12.25% and 23.55% disproportionality respectively.

[6] The disproportionality index used in these scenarios is called the Loosemore-Hanby Index and it is calculated as follows: 1) Find the difference between each party's share of the party vote and its share of the seats; 2) add the absolute values of these differences together; and 3) divide by 2. The index ranges from 0 to 100 and the results can therefore be interpreted as a percentage. A higher value indicates a more disproportional result.

Scenario 2

In this scenario, there *are* overhangs: one party wins more local seats than its share of the party vote would give it. Table 30, Column A, shows the party vote totals and Column B shows each party's share of the party vote. These numbers are the same as those used in Scenario 1. The important difference between Scenario 1 and Scenario 2 is the number of local seats each party wins.

Table 30 | Scenario 2: Hypothetical Election Results Under MMP

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	Party Votes	Party Vote (%)	Local Seats	List Seats	Total Seats	Total Seats (%)	Disproportionality (F – B)
Party A	1,783,567	39.14	55	0	55	42.64	3.50
Party B	1,333,266	29.26	24	13	37	28.68	-0.58
Party C	818,498	17.96	11	12	23	17.83	-0.13
Party D	325,458	7.14	0	9	9	6.98	-0.16
Party E	183,453	4.03	0	5	5	3.88	-0.15
Others	112,431	2.47	–	–	–	–	-2.47
Total	4,556,673	100.00	90	39	129	100.01	6.99
						Loosemore-Hanby Index:	6.99/2 = 3.49

In Scenario 2, Party A wins more local seats than its share of the party vote. Party A should have a total of 52 seats (the same number as in Scenario 1) but it wins 55 local seats in this hypothetical election. This produces 3 overhang seats.

MMP systems deal with the issue of overhang seats in different ways. In New Zealand and Germany, balance seats are added to the legislature to offset the disproportionality created by overhang seats. The MMP systems in Scotland and Wales do not allow for balance seats.

The Assembly's MMP system does not allow for balance seats. The size of the legislature is fixed at 129 and the number of local seats (90) and list seats (39) stays the same, even if a party wins more local seats than its share of the party vote.

This means that in order to distribute seats proportionally to the remaining parties, the Hare formula is reapplied using the total number of seats in the legislature minus the seats won by parties with one or more overhangs. In this scenario, Party A wins 55 seats (including 3 overhangs) and the Hare formula is therefore reapplied using 74 seats (129 - 55) and the vote totals of the remaining parties. There are a total of 2,660,675 votes cast for parties that met the threshold after Party A is removed from the calculation. The quota is therefore:

$$\frac{2,660,675}{74} = 35,955$$

The quota in Scenario 2 (35,955) is larger than the quota in Scenario 1 (34,451). This means that a party needs more votes to be awarded a seat. For example, in Scenario 1, Party B wins 39 seats. In Scenario 2, Party B wins 37 seats.

No seats are taken away from Party A, even though the size of the legislature is fixed at 129. Instead, Party A is awarded a 3-seat bonus. When the number of seats in the legislature is fixed, a seat bonus for one party will result in a seat deficit for one or more of the other parties. In general, as the number of overhangs increases, disproportionality also increases.

Table 30 shows that Scenario 2 produced approximately 3.49% disproportionality, compared with 2.78% disproportionality in Scenario 1 where there were no overhangs. Both scenarios produce levels of disproportionality comparable to recent results from the more proportional MMP systems. The Assembly's MMP system should produce very proportional results except in atypical elections that would produce a large number of overhangs.

PART V:
OPERATIONS

12. SECRETARIAT TEAM

[Meet the people who supported the Citizens' Assembly process.]

George Thomson, Chair

In addition to serving as the only appointed member and Chair of the Citizens' Assembly, George also served as the head of the Secretariat established to support the Assembly's work. George worked closely with the staff to develop and implement policies to ensure that the Assembly was well supported in all aspects of its learning, consultation, and deliberation.

The Secretariat team was responsible for supporting the Assembly's work. This included designing the learning program as well as planning, coordination, and communications for each phase of the project. Secretariat staff liaised with their assigned "buddies" from the Assembly and supported the advisory committees and working groups formed by the Assembly members. Staff also attended selection meetings, weekend Assembly sessions, and public consultation meetings across the province to support these activities. All staff worked as a team to do whatever needed doing, but here is a brief description of their main roles.

Carole Brosseau, Office Manager

In her role as office manager, Carole was responsible for the initial office set-up of the Secretariat. She also managed the budget, contracts, and procurement, and she ensured that administrative and financial policies and procedures were followed. Carole was instrumental in supporting the Assembly members through the timely reimbursement of per diem payments and expenses related to their attendance at Assembly meetings.

Felicia Hewitt, Pauline Padmore, and Talene Palvetzian were part of the Secretariat team in the early planning stages. During project conclusion and wind-up, Sean Bowman joined the team on a part-time basis.

Kelly Burke, Senior Advisor and Counsel to the Chair

Kelly provided legal advice to the Chair and Secretariat staff and helped to develop a variety of policies and protocols to govern their work. She prepared contracts and oversaw the preparation of documents for each weekend Assembly meeting. Kelly also served as the Secretariat's French language services coordinator, and led the transition team for winding down the project.

Karen Cohl, Executive Director

Karen provided strategic advice to the Chair and oversaw all aspects of the work of the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat. She recruited the Secretariat team and external consultants and ensured that policies and strategies were in place to meet the long-term and short-term challenges of the project. Karen also served as recording secretary at Assembly meetings.

Cora Conway, Assistant to Directors

Cora provided administrative support to the Secretariat, coordinating numerous activities to prepare for meetings and special events. She also managed travel arrangements for members to attend weekend Assembly meetings and consultation sessions. Cora was the friendly voice who responded to telephone calls from members of the public who called the general inquiry line.

Carol Fleming, Database Administrator

Carol developed and maintained the databases that helped manage the project and create a record of this historical process. She also managed the advance registration process for speakers at the public consultation meetings held across the province. Carol provided insight and advice to the Secretariat based on her experience with the British Columbia Citizens' Assembly.

Jennifer Gough, Senior Events Planner

Jennifer managed event logistics, working with various suppliers to ensure the smooth and successful roll-out of Assembly meetings and other large events. She created the consultation schedule and secured meeting locations for the public consultation meetings. Jennifer was also responsible for monitoring all media and organizing the media archive.

Dahlia Klinger, Senior Policy Advisor

Dahlia provided policy advice to the Chair and Secretariat, from the selection phase through to the conclusion of the project. She researched, wrote, and edited many documents for the Citizens' Assembly, including the consultation guide (*Citizens Talking to Citizens*) and final report (*One Ballot, Two Votes: A New Way to Vote in Ontario*). Dahlia made sure that written products were clear, engaging, and reflective of the Assembly's views.

Barry Koen-Butt, Executive Lead, Communications

Barry communicated the work of the Citizens' Assembly through a variety of publications, media releases, videos, and special events. He also managed the team working on the website and logistics. He worked closely with TVOntario to visually document the Assembly process and broaden the base of citizen participation. Barry worked with Assembly members to prepare them for their role as spokespeople for their decision.

Mark Lyons, Policy Analyst & Researcher

Mark assisted the Chair and the Academic Director to develop a variety of educational tools – including election simulations, animations, and options papers – to support the learning and deliberations of the Citizens' Assembly. He served on the facilitation team and played a lead role in creating discussion group exercises. Mark, along with Michael MacKenzie, also read and summarized over 1,000 written submissions from the public.

Michael MacKenzie, Policy Analyst & Researcher

Michael assisted the Chair and the Academic Director to develop a variety of educational tools – including election simulations, animations, and options papers – to support the learning and deliberations of the Citizens' Assembly. He served on the facilitation team and played a lead role in creating discussion group exercises. Michael, along with Mark Lyons, also read and summarized over 1,000 written submissions from the public.

Huma Pabani, Senior Communications Officer

Huma led the development of the Citizens' Assembly website and Members' Forum and helped the members to make the most of these online resources. She also ensured that the website remained current, relevant, and engaging. Huma wrote and edited many materials, including web content and media releases. She also produced *The Ballot*, an external newsletter, and *The Post*, an internal newsletter for Assembly members.

Susan Pigott, Executive Lead, Citizen Engagement

Susan oversaw the Assembly's public consultation process, working with Assembly members on outreach strategies and encouraging organizations and members of the public to participate. Throughout the Citizens' Assembly process, Susan liaised with stakeholders and made special efforts to interest and engage diverse groups and individuals who might otherwise have been unaware or uninvolved.

Tiana Pollari, Administrative Coordinator

Tiana worked with the Chair to manage his schedule and competing requests for his time. She also worked with the Office Manager on procurement, financial management, and other functions to ensure that things ran smoothly on the administrative front. Tiana organized a variety of meetings for the Chair and other members of the team. At Secretariat meetings, she served as recording secretary, taking notes and identifying action items.

Jonathan Rose, Academic Director

Jonathan developed and delivered an innovative education program that helped Assembly members understand electoral systems and their underlying values. He also helped members rise to the challenge of electoral system design in the deliberation phase. Jonathan offered "Politics 101" sessions in the evenings of Assembly weekends for members who had questions or wanted to continue the day's discussion. He also managed a team of researchers, facilitators, and academic advisers.

Rick Yee, Project Specialist and Executive Assistant

Rick managed event logistics, coordinating the activities of Secretariat staff at Assembly meetings and other large events. He managed the distribution of supporting materials for Assembly members and produced their "Getting Ready Guide." Rick served as Executive Assistant to the Executive Director during the transition period and wrap-up of the Citizens' Assembly process.

13. COMMUNICATIONS AND MEDIA

[From paper to the Internet to video and more: what went into communications for the Citizens' Assembly.]

COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGIES

Strong communications strategies were essential to ensure that the public was aware of opportunities to get involved in this historic process, and in order to build understanding of electoral systems and principles and this new method of developing public policy. Given the unique nature of each of the phases of the project, each phase was associated with distinct strategies.

During the selection process, the communications strategy focused on people – the reactions and thoughts of citizens selected as members of the Assembly. The selection meetings were one of the first opportunities for the Secretariat to tell the people of Ontario about the Citizens' Assembly. An event where a local resident was to be selected for an important and historic task was likely to have significant news value in his or her community. The Secretariat therefore developed a strategy to generate interest in each selection meeting locally. A media advisory was issued in advance of each meeting, directed to local newspapers and radio stations through the Canada News Wire service. After each selection meeting, a second media release announced the names of the members selected for each riding. Both releases were followed up with phone calls to the local media.

Stories about the new Assembly members featured prominently in many newspapers in areas where selection meetings were held, although less so in large urban centres. Most of them quoted the members on their reasons for wanting to participate.

May 28, 2006 Selection Meeting in Thunder Bay, ON. L-R: Julia Craner, George Thomson | | June 3, 2006 Selection Meeting in London, ON. L-R: Peter Soroka, George Thomson

In the learning phase, the focus shifted to the subject matter and to ensuring that the public could learn about electoral systems along with the Assembly members via the TVOntario's tvo.org website. The Citizens' Assembly website made available to the public a variety of the Assembly s learning materials.

In the consultation phase, the general strategy was to focus on public participation through attendance at public meetings and to encourage online and written submissions. There was an increase in coverage in all media during the consultation and deliberation phases, particularly in the electronic media with radio and television reports increasing in number throughout the province.

In the deliberation phase, as the project neared completion, a unique communications challenge materialized. Since the basic premise was that all full Assembly meetings were to be open and transparent, including deliberation discussions and decisions, anyone who was interested could follow the direction the Assembly was taking and, ultimately, know the Assembly's decision before the members delivered their report to the government. The risk was that the media and others could comment on various aspects of the decision, without the final report which would describe the members' recommended system and their rationale for the decision. The strategy adopted was to supply the media and the public with basic technical information on the recommended system in advance of the final report.

COMMUNICATIONS PRODUCTS

A number of products were created to support the strategic communications plan, including:

- Backgrounders
- Assembly member Qs & As
- Internal and external newsletters
- Electronic presentations to support speaking engagements of members and staff
- Newspaper advertisements for consultation meetings
- Consultation guide ("Citizens Talking to Citizens")
- Consultation brochure
- Lapel pins with the Citizens' Assembly logo
- Videos and animations
- Website
- Business cards, including Citizens' Assembly email addresses, for Assembly members

WEBSITE

The website was much more than a way to provide general information about the Assembly. It was a robust and interactive way to connect Assembly members with one another and with their fellow Ontarians – and a major component in the communications and citizen engagement strategies. Through the website, members of the public had an opportunity to comment informally or make formal submissions, learn about electoral systems along with the Assembly members, and follow the Assembly's progress in a number of ways. After the Assembly made its final decision, the website was reconfigured to make it easy for the public to learn about the decision and recommendation.

Design and Maintenance

The Secretariat worked with Lift Communications to add substance to the start-up site and to continually improve and expand the content and interactive features.

Content

The website informed the public about the Assembly, its members, and its work, provided education resources about electoral systems, and encouraged and facilitated public participation. It was also the home of a forum for Assembly members to communicate with one another. The content was available in English and French.

The home page had easily accessible links to materials such as the consultation guide ("Citizens Talking to Citizens") and to other areas of the site. It highlighted the latest developments and news about the Assembly's progress. External links directed readers to related areas of interest. A changing banner showed a picture of an Assembly member with a quote from that member.

The site was divided into major sections – each supporting a specific area of interest to visitors.

About the Assembly described the Citizens' Assembly, its mandate, and the general plan for the process. The "Meet the Members" page featured photographs and biographies of each Assembly member, alphabetically by electoral district. The Secretariat team was also introduced in this section. To emphasize the importance of individual citizens in this process, the brief profiles, for both Assembly members and staff, stressed a personal approach.

What's New displayed the three latest developments related to the Assembly, and previous items were available through a link to the archive. Further links led to updated lists of events and to the Assembly's newsletter (*The Ballot*).

Get Involved was the section where members of the public were encouraged to participate in the work of the Assembly. It included details about the ways citizens could get involved: register to receive *The Ballot*, access learning materials, attend public meetings, make a submission, and read summaries of submissions and public meetings.

See Appendix H-1: Citizens' Assembly Resources on the Website

The Classroom was the section where members of the public could follow along with the Assembly members throughout their learning program. They could access the annotated bibliographies, an electronic library of reference materials, profiles of the learning team, and weekend-by-weekend educational materials. The Classroom section linked to *Billy Ballot*, an animation about the families of electoral systems. Links to an online forum encouraged public discussion.

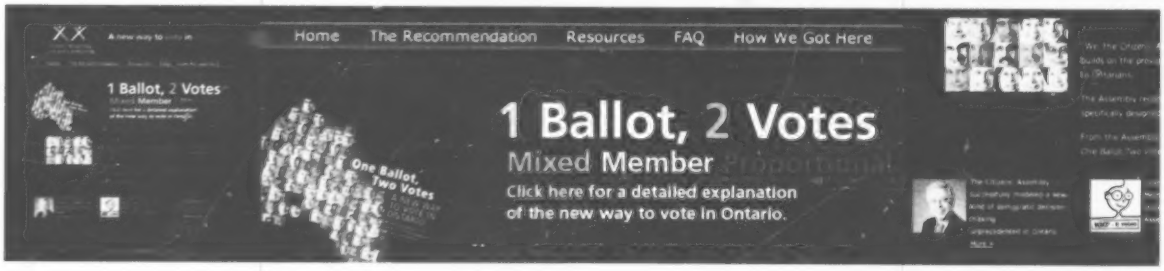
The Media Room was designed to give the media quick and convenient access to information. This section included the Secretariat's media contacts, all news releases and media advisories, and an electronic press kit which included a backgrounder, Qs and As, and downloadable pictures of the Chair and the Assembly in action. For journalists looking for deeper background information, contact information for members of the Academic Reference Group was included.

The Deliberation Room was added during a site update at the start of the deliberation phase and made available to the public materials used by Assembly members, weekend by weekend, as they worked through the decision-making process.

The Members' Room was accessible only to Assembly members. Here, members had access to documents from the Secretariat, the current and archived issues of *The Post*, and shared documents and photos posted by members.

The Members' Forum was another "members only" portion of the website. It provided a forum for Assembly members to share news, thoughts, and questions with one another. Members could also post questions for the Academic Director here. A very active and valuable tool for the members, there were almost 3,000 posts to the forum when it closed.

On May 15, 2007, in conjunction with the delivery of the Assembly's report, a redesigned website was launched to support the decision. It has the same look and feel as the report and includes new sections specific to the recommendation and additional resources.



The government will keep the site publicly available as it was on the wind-down of the Secretariat, for public education on the Assembly process, background, and legacy purposes.

14. EVALUATION AND MONITORING

[An independent evaluator assessed the Citizens' Assembly process and provided ongoing feedback.]

"The results indicate that it is possible to take a group of citizens with very little prior knowledge of an issue and the underlying values, and educate them in a relatively short period of time so that they can independently deliberate and decide on a public policy recommendation."

– Evaluation Report, Institute On Governance (independent evaluator)

An independent evaluator, the Institute On Governance, developed and implemented ways to monitor and evaluate the Citizens' Assembly process and to provide ongoing feedback and advice.

With indicators, targets, benchmarks, and sources of information adjusted to each phase of the process, the evaluator assessed and monitored the process against the predetermined success factors and related objectives:

Table 31 | Success Factors

1. **The Citizens' Assembly members are empowered to deliberate and decide.**
   - **Learning**
     The Assembly members are educated about Ontario's current electoral system and different electoral systems and the principles for assessing electoral systems.
   - **Deliberation**
     The Assembly process facilitates group cohesion, dialogue, and deliberation.
   - **Decision**
     The Assembly members have ownership of the Assembly's decisions.
   - **Support**
     The Assembly is well supported by the Secretariat team.
2. **A broad range of Ontarians engage in the Citizens' Assembly process.**
   - **Awareness**
     The Ontario public knows about the Citizens' Assembly process and opportunities to participate.
   - **Participation**
     A broad range of Ontarians participate in the Citizens' Assembly process.
   - **Input**
     Input from the public informs the Citizens' Assembly deliberations.
3. **The Citizens' Assembly process is seen as a model for citizen engagement and deliberation on public policy questions.**
   - **Transparency**
     The Assembly process is transparent and well documented for the historical record and for the benefit of future exercises.

The evaluator collected data and provided feedback in a number of ways. Throughout the process, the evaluator also reviewed plans, reports, Assembly binders, and other supporting documentation or information developed by the Secretariat.

During the learning and deliberation phases, the evaluator used the following data collection methods:

- Brief surveys

  To provide continuous feedback, the evaluator conducted a brief survey of the Assembly members at the end of each Assembly meeting.[1] The survey asked them about their experience in terms of indicators identified as contributors to the success factors. The evaluator tailored the surveys for each weekend to the program for the session.

  Completed surveys were sent directly to the evaluator after each weekend session and the evaluator analyzed the results.

- Focus groups

  The evaluator conducted focus groups on selected issues with up to eight randomly selected Assembly members during four of the weekends in the learning phase and four of the weekends in the deliberation phase. A report on the focus groups was included in the monitoring report prepared by the evaluator after each weekend meeting. There was also one focus group with the facilitators at the end of the learning phase and one with Secretariat staff, excluding senior management, at the end of the consultation phase.

- Assembly meeting observation checklist

  The evaluator observed a portion of each weekend session and completed an observation checklist.

For the consultation phase, the evaluator used the following two data collection tools:

- Surveys of members of the public

  The evaluator gauged the effectiveness of the public meetings by analyzing the surveys completed by members of the public who attended.[2]

- Public meeting observation checklist

  The evaluator provided an observation checklist for Secretariat staff to complete at the public meetings. The evaluator also attended two of the public meetings and one of the special outreach meetings.

Another important element in the evaluator's role was to contribute to the body of knowledge about citizens' assemblies generally, primarily for academic purposes. Detailed surveys had been conducted for the BC Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform, and to provide data for comparative purposes, the evaluator administered similar detailed surveys of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly. The same approach was also applied in the Netherlands, where an Electoral System Civic Forum was under way. Some of the responses to the detailed surveys also contributed to the monitoring and evaluation.

[1] See Appendix G-1, Sample Weekend Surveys.

[2] See Appendix G-2, Public Consultation Meeting Survey.

The Secretariat and the members' Monitoring and Evaluation Advisory Committee received feedback from the evaluator in six Learning Monitoring Reports, four Consultation Monitoring Reports, and six Deliberation Monitoring Reports. These reports highlighted performance against the objectives and identified some possible areas for improvement arising from the surveys, focus groups, and the evaluator's observations. The reports incorporated the results and comments from the brief surveys, the focus group reports, and information from the observation checklists. All the information provided by Assembly members and Secretariat staff through surveys or focus groups was kept anonymous in order to protect privacy and confidentiality.

As part of the review of the previous weekend's session or the public meetings, the Secretariat team discussed the monitoring reports at staff meetings and recorded the Secretariat's response to the suggestions and comments. The Secretariat also circulated the monitoring reports to the members' Monitoring and Evaluation Advisory Committee and discussed the reports with them at the beginning of each weekend session. During the first open forum plenary session of each weekend, the Chair addressed key issues raised in the feedback from members and discussed how the Secretariat had responded to them.

Before conclusion of the project, the evaluator conducted telephone interviews with the Chair and senior management staff of the Secretariat, members of the Assembly's Monitoring and Evaluation Advisory Committee, and others to obtain final perspectives on specific questions. The evaluator also prepared baseline, interim, and final evaluation reports. The final evaluation report, *Citizen Deliberative Decision-Making – Evaluation of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform*, will be available on the Citizens' Assembly website.

15. ADMINISTRATION

[Some of the important considerations in planning and operating the Secretariat.]

POLICIES AND PROTOCOLS

Disability Accommodation

The Secretariat was committed to providing accommodation for Citizens' Assembly members and members of the public with disabilities who wished to participate in the Assembly process, so that they could take part fully and with dignity. Under the Secretariat's disability policy, accommodation was provided proactively, or on request with sufficient notice. Secretariat staff respected Assembly members' privacy by keeping information regarding disabilities as confidential as possible, including within the Secretariat.

Preparing for Emergencies

A nurse was on hand during Assembly meetings in case an Assembly member fell ill. In addition, two of the Secretariat staff who were present at each meeting received CPR training.

French Language Services

The policy for French language services set out the elements of the Assembly process, describing the specific services to be provided in each case, based on the requirements of the Citizens' Assembly Regulation and the *French Language Services Act*.

Interaction with the Ontario Government and Political Entities

Independence from government was an important factor in the credibility of the work to support the Assembly. The Secretariat developed a protocol for interactions of the Chair and staff with government ministries, appointed officials, and Ontario politicians. Nothing in the protocol prevented the Chair or his delegates from providing to anyone, at the Chair's discretion, basic information on the Citizens' Assembly process or an update on its progress.

Political Activity

The *Public Service Act* provides that Crown employees cannot engage in political activity that could place them in a position of conflict with the interests of the Crown. Political activity by staff of the Secretariat would have created a conflict with the interest of the Crown in having an independent, non-partisan Citizens' Assembly process. The Secretariat's policy required staff to discuss the matter with their supervisors if they were in doubt about any particular activity.

HUMAN RESOURCES

Recruitment

The Chair and the Executive Director identified the staff positions to be filled, relying on their own experience in managing organizations and on having studied the administrative structure of the BC citizens' assembly. They recruited staff either through competitive processes or, because of time constraints, through referrals and interviews. Some staff were seconded from government offices or external organizations and others were hired on contract. The Office Manager worked with the Executive Director to ensure that job descriptions were in place for each position.

As required, the Secretariat also engaged external contractors to provide specific services and expertise. These contracts included writers, evaluators, electoral system experts, deliberation experts, web developers, graphic designers, and communications specialists.

Teamwork

To operate effectively, Secretariat staff had to work as a team. The policies and goals had been set out for the Citizens' Assembly and for the Secretariat, but the Chair and the Executive Director encouraged all staff to think creatively and contribute ideas.

In early staff meetings, each member of the team gave an update on progress and developments in each task area. In a spirit of democratic collaboration, the meetings were conducted like "round tables." All staff attended, and each person, at every level of the organization, had an opportunity to contribute. Later, team meetings were held primarily to debrief on the past Assembly meeting and prepare for the next one.

The Academic Director also used the staff meetings as focus groups, on occasion, to test teaching techniques and materials before using them in Assembly meetings.

FACILITIES

Venue for the Learning Phase and Deliberation Phase Meetings

Prior to the establishment of the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat, the Democratic Renewal Secretariat identified specific requirements for holding Assembly meetings. Among the locations considered, Osgoode Hall Law School at York University proved to have the best environment for the purpose. Plenary sessions at Assembly meetings were held in the Moot Courtroom. TVOntario and other media representatives were able to set up their equipment easily. Additional rooms were available for the group discussions. The plenary sessions and group discussions were open to the public. Owing to examinations at Osgoode Hall, Weekend Five of the deliberation phase was held in government facilities in downtown Toronto.

Hotel Accommodation

The Secretariat selected the Holiday Inn Yorkdale to accommodate members during the weekend meetings. The selection was based on criteria that included availability, cost, accessibility, capacity for group meetings and meals, cancellation policy, and shuttle-bus transportation to York University.

Locations for Public Consultation Meetings

The Secretariat sought out centres of community activity as locations for the forty-one public consultation meetings held throughout Ontario. Community-based settings were most likely to afford convenient access and accessibility for the public and to have appropriate facilities. Many meetings were held at a local YMCA, Royal Canadian Legion, Indian Friendship Centre, or community college. Apart from presenters who registered in advance, it was difficult to predict the number of people who might attend, but the space reserved generally worked well.

MEMBERS' PER DIEM AND EXPENSES

Members received compensation at the rate of $150 per day (taxable income) for Saturday and Sunday meeting days and for their participation on panels during formal consultation meetings.

Reimbursable travel expenses for members followed the same guidelines as applied to Ontario government staff. The Secretariat informed the members of the guidelines before the first Assembly meeting. The Secretariat helped to arrange the most economical means possible for travel, and accommodated members' preferences where possible within the guidelines.

With many of the 103 members travelling to Toronto from across Ontario for Assembly meetings and to other locations for consultation meetings, efficient methods for arranging and paying for their travel had to be devised. For members travelling significant distances, the Secretariat made the arrangements. So that members would not be out of pocket for larger expenses such as airfare and hotel rooms, the Secretariat paid these expenses directly. For the same reason, the Secretariat negotiated with the hotel to provide meals at its restaurant, at a price within the guidelines, during Assembly meetings.

In order to reimburse members for their out-of-pocket expenses (such as off-site meals and use of personal vehicles to attend meetings) as quickly and efficiently as possible, the Office Manager worked with the Controllership Section, Business Planning and Finance Branch, Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, and Ontario Shared Services, Ministry of Government Services. They set up accounts for members and a process to issue per diem payments immediately following each Assembly meeting. Almost all members completed applications for direct deposit. This ensured quick payment to members, generally within five business days of receiving and approving their expense claims and per diems.

Family members of Assembly members could stay at the hotel with them, but they were responsible for any additional arrangements and expenses.

[1] See Section 4 of Part VI, Acknowledgements, for a list of organizations that provided facilities for consultation meetings.

MANAGEMENT OF DOCUMENTS AND DATA

The Secretariat established a shared drive for electronic file storage. This proved valuable in managing the creation and development of the many learning and other support materials for the Assembly members, communications products, and other materials produced by the Secretariat. All members of the Secretariat team had access to this drive, thereby creating a common electronic "filing cabinet" containing the latest versions of the materials produced and the work in progress.

The Secretariat also needed an efficient way to collect and track information and developed a number of databases:

- Members' database (mailing address, email, emergency contact information, logistics regarding travel, dietary restrictions, special needs)
- Public consultation meetings database to track requests, participants, and other information for public consultation meetings
- Stakeholders database with information on interested parties and tracking of meetings/consultations with specific stakeholders
- Acknowledgements database to keep track of organizations and individuals who contributed to the work of the Assembly

In addition to these in-house databases, the Secretariat engaged Lift Communications to develop a form and an accompanying database to accept written submissions from the public through the website, and a second custom-designed form and database to accept registrations for consultation meetings. For contract management, budgeting, expenses, reporting, and other finance-related matters, the Secretariat used the Integrated Financial Information System, a government-wide financial system.

Back – L-R: Susan Pigott, Jonathan Rose, Mark Lyons, George Thomson, Rick Yee; Middle – L-R: Jennifer Gough, Michael MacKenzie, Barry Koen-Butt, Dahlia Klinger, Carol Fleming, Kelly Burke; Front – L-R: Karen Cohl, Cora Conway, Tiana Pollari, Huma Pabani, Carole Brosseau

Citizens' Assembly Secretariat team.

PART VI:
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

[A nearly overwhelming number of individuals and organizations contributed to the success of the Citizens' Assembly.]

1. ACADEMIC EXPERTISE

Academic Reference Group

An Academic Reference Group composed of political scientists with expertise in electoral systems from universities across Ontario provided advice on the Citizens' Assembly learning program and acted as a resource for Assembly members: Bill Cross, Carleton University; David Docherty, Wilfrid Laurier University; Rand Dyck, Laurentian University; Larry LeDuc, University of Toronto; Heather MacIvor, University of Windsor; Scott Matthews, Queen's University; Jon Pammett, Carleton University; Laura Stephenson, University of Western Ontario; Brian Tanguay, Wilfrid Laurier University; Hugh Thorburn, Queen's University; Graham White, University of Toronto; Linda White, University of Toronto; and Bob Williams, University of Waterloo.

Group Facilitators

Facilitators led the group sessions during Citizens' Assembly meetings. During the learning phase, the facilitators used their knowledge of electoral systems to help reinforce learning. During the deliberation phase, the facilitators helped to structure the dialogue and create an environment that enabled the members to work toward consensus and decision-making: Marielle Bérubé; Gordon DiGiacomo (learning phase only); Louise Hayes; Caitlin Hayward; Michael Johns; Michelle Lowry (deliberation phase only); Mark Lyons; Michael MacKenzie; Daniel Moure; Sarah Newman; Alice Ormiston (learning phase only); Amanda Rogers (deliberation phase only); and Kristin Skinner.

Working Groups Facilitator

During the learning phase, the Citizens' Assembly formed four working groups to review research findings and report back to the full Assembly. Ailsa Henderson from the University of Toronto supported this process by providing research and facilitation for the groups.

Guest Presenters

On Weekend Three of the learning phase, a panel of experts discussed Ontario's current system: David Docherty, Wilfrid Laurier University; Larry LeDuc, University of Toronto; Jennifer Smith, Dalhousie University, NS. On Weekend Five of the learning phase, experts in electoral reform from around the world came to make presentations to the Citizens' Assembly: Sarah Birch, University of Essex, UK; André Blais, Université de Montréal; Ken Carty, University of British Columbia; Bill Cross, Carleton University; David Farrell, University of Manchester, UK; Heather MacIvor, University of Windsor; Louis Massicotte, Université de Montréal and American University, Washington DC; Elizabeth McLeay, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. On the first weekend of the deliberation phase the Assembly heard from Ivan Fellegi, Statistics Canada.

Researchers

Researchers did additional work to assist in the Citizens' Assembly learning and deliberation phases. Larry Johnston conducted research to produce *From Votes to Seats: Four Families of Electoral Systems*, a new Ontario-focused text on electoral systems. Other research was conducted by Sujit Choudhry; Barry Kay; Michael Johns; Heather MacIvor; Kristin Skinner; John Stapleton; and The Parliamentary Centre.

Directed Learning Program

Political science students from York University, law students from Osgoode Hall Law School of York University, and law students from the University of Toronto participated in a directed learning program in which students conducted research related to the Citizens' Assembly or electoral systems. Special thanks to Ian Greene, York University; Patrick Monahan, Osgoode Hall Law School; and Lorne Sossin, University of Toronto Law School, for organizing this program.

Policy Conference

The School of Policy Studies at Queen's University co-sponsored a conference with the Citizens' Assembly in Kingston, Ontario on values-based approaches to electoral reform, involving many of the world experts in electoral systems who met with the Citizens' Assembly in November 2006. Special thanks to Naomi Alboim; Lynn Freeman; Mary Rodger; and Arthur Sweetman from Queen's University and to keynote speaker Richard Katz, an electoral system expert from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

2. CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT EXPERTISE

Deliberative Dialogue

Beth Allan of Beth Allan & Associates provided expert advice and coaching in facilitation and deliberative dialogue during the deliberation phase. Mary Pat MacKinnon and Judy Watling of the Canadian Policy Research Networks and Simone E. Chambers of the University of Toronto also provided expert advice on deliberative dialogue. Special thanks to Michael Fogel, Justice Institute of BC, for generously sharing the ideas on deliberative dialogue that he presented to the British Columbia citizens' assembly.

Learning Techniques

Andrew Leger of the Queen's University Centre for Teaching and Learning provided advice in the learning phase on learning techniques and discussion group activities.

Monitoring and Evaluation

The Institute On Governance monitored the Citizens' Assembly process, helped to establish success factors, provided ongoing advice, and produced an evaluation report at the conclusion of the project. Special thanks to Gail Motsi, who managed the project; Lyn McDonell, who acted as observer and focus-group facilitator; Don Hall, who advised on social research; and Marilynn Best who entered the data from the surveys.

Process Advice

Amy Lang of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, with expertise in how citizens participate in politics, observed the Ontario Citizens' Assembly process from the start and provided observations to the Chair, the Academic Director, and the facilitators on process design and delivery throughout the exercise.

3. DOCUMENTING THE PROCESS

TVOntario

TVO, Ontario's educational broadcaster, served as the Citizens' Assembly's official media partner. Working closely with Seneca College, TVO helped to document the Assembly's plenary and group sessions and to increase public engagement. TVO supervised the videotaping and editing conducted by community college students and built an interactive micro-site to engage its current affairs audience. Special thanks to Lisa DeWilde, CEO; Christine McGlade, Manager, Interactive and Digital Media; Keith Robinson, Senior Producer; Mario Resnik, Director; Marilyn McGinn, Production Manager; Mark Porter, Manager, Audio & Web; and Mark Ford, Technical Director.

Seneca College

Seneca worked with the Citizens' Assembly and TVOntario to document this historical process, overseeing the work of broadcast and journalism students who videotaped Assembly meetings and edited the footage. Special thanks to: Jed DeCory; Greg Davis; and Tim Abbott; and to the students: Mohira Ali; Stephanie Bertini; Chris Bell; Kevin Cordick; Jackie Crandles; Tawfiq Elamad; James Elsdon; Judy Freedman; Ben Goloff; Terrance Hand; Rouzbeh Heydari; Duris Jackson; Brooke Jacobs; Chris Johnson; Adrian Kent; Matt Klopot; Ray Melano; John Niedzielski; Jason Powell; Colin Power; Joshua George Rittenhouse; Devon Searle; Darryl Yeadon; Matthew Young; and Christina Zaragoza.

4. PUBLIC CONSULTATION AND OUTREACH

Public Consultation Meetings

The following organizations provided facilities for public consultation meetings in their communities: YMCA, Brampton; Durham College, Oshawa; YMCA, Mississauga; Oakville Public Library - Central, Oakville; Royal Canadian Legion, Dryden; YMCA, Timmins; Thunder Bay Native Friendship Centre, Thunder Bay; North Bay Indian Friendship Centre, North Bay; John Rhodes Community Centre, Sault Ste. Marie; N'Swakamok Friendship Centre, Sudbury; Brock University, St. Catharines; Owen Sound and North Grey Union Public Library, Owen Sound; Milliken Mills Community Centre, Markham; Trent University, Peterborough; Mohawk College, Hamilton; Monora Park Pavilion, Orangeville; South Shore Centre, Barrie; Centennial HP Science & Technology Centre, Scarborough; Seneca College, Toronto; Humber College, Toronto; YMCA, Windsor; N'Amerind Friendship Centre, London; YMCA Esso Learning & Career Centre, Sarnia; Kitchener Waterloo YMCA Ontario Early Years Centre, Waterloo; University of Ottawa, Ottawa; St. Lawrence College, Cornwall; Loyalist College, Belleville; The Palisades, Ottawa; Kingston Frontenac Public Library, Kingston; Farrell Hall, Perth; Ryerson University, Toronto; Bracebridge Rotary Youth Centre, Bracebridge; Burlington Art Centre, Burlington; Ontario

Government Facilities, Guelph; MacBain Community Centre, Niagara Falls; LAMP, Etobicoke; Best Western Lakeside Inn, Kenora; St. Clair College, Chatham; Metro-Central YMCA, Toronto; Canadian Hearing Society (with Canadian Helen Keller Centre, Canadian National Institute for the Blind, and Canadian Paraplegic Association of Ontario), Toronto.

Videotaping Presentations

The following Ontario community colleges videotaped public consultation meetings: Algonquin College of Applied Arts and Technology, Ottawa; Cambrian College of Applied Arts and Technology, Sudbury; Canadore College of Applied Arts and Technology, North Bay; Centennial College, Toronto; Conestoga College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning, Kitchener; Confederation College of Applied Arts and Technology, Thunder Bay; Durham College of Applied Arts and Technology, Oshawa; Fanshawe College of Applied Arts and Technology, London; Georgian College of Applied Arts and Technology, Barrie; Humber College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning, Toronto; Loyalist College, Belleville; Mohawk College of Applied Arts and Technology, Hamilton; Niagara College of Applied Arts and Technology, Welland; Sault College of Applied Arts and Technology, Sault Ste. Marie; Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology, Toronto; St. Clair College of Applied Arts and Technology, Windsor; Sheridan College Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning, Oakville.

Consultation Analysis

Sam Kaufman analyzed input from public consultation meetings and prepared summaries, which were posted on the Citizens' Assembly website.

Special Outreach

Under the leadership of Peter Clutterbuck, the Social Planning Network of Ontario convened four focus groups with people whose voices are often not heard on public policy issues as part of the consultation phase, assisted by the following local organizations: Social Planning Council of Peel; Social Planning Council of Sudbury; Social Planning Council of Ottawa; Niagara Social Assistance Reform. Julia Deans, Toronto City Summit Alliance, assisted with organizing meetings with business leaders. The Maytree Foundation hosted a focus group on immigrant perspectives. The Ontario Trillium Foundation provided funding to the Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform, which resulted in significant engagement of high school students in the Citizens' Assembly process. Trillium staff also provided community contacts to help with outreach in Northern Ontario.

Parliamentarians

The Assembly heard from three former Ontario Members of Provincial Parliament: Dianne Cunningham (Progressive Conservative); Joan M. Fawcett (Liberal); and Floyd Laughren (New Democratic Party). On occasion, the Chair met with the chair of the Ontario Association of Former Parliamentarians and with members of the former Select Committee on Electoral Reform. Politicians from other jurisdictions participated in videos where they spoke about their electoral systems: from New Zealand, John Carter (National Party); Jeanette Fitzsimmons (Green Party); and Ruth Dyson (Labour Party); from Ireland, Noel Dempsey (Minister for Communications, Marine and Natural Resources) (Fianna Fáil Republican Party); and Brendan Halligan (Former General Secretary of the Irish Labour Party and former member of the Irish European Parliament).

5. CREATIVE AND TECHNICAL SERVICES

Writing

Agnes Vanya was the writer for this comprehensive report, with direction from the Secretariat. She also wrote a foundational speech for the Chair on the Citizens' Assembly process and provided writing and editing services for a wide range of other materials.

Photography

Ben Li of Raw Edge Photography served as the official photographer of the Citizens' Assembly.

Design and Printing

Piccadilly Communications provided layout and printing services for the Citizens' Assembly consultation guide, consultation report, and a variety of other products. Piccadilly also produced the Billy Ballot animations which provide an introduction to electoral systems around the world and an overview of the Assembly's recommended system. Special thanks to Byron Georgeff; Kathleen Georgeff; and Jennifer Shadbolt. Layout and printing services for the final report of the Citizens' Assembly, brochure, and this background report were provided by FIZZZ Design Corp. Special thanks to Didier Fiset; Anita Chen; Kitty Chan; and Alicia Countryman.

Audio Visual

Mediaco provided audio-visual and technical support for the Assembly's learning, deliberation, and consultation meetings. Special thanks to Kyle Brooks; Guy Sequenzia; Julie Nguyen; and Franco Viglietta.

Information Technology and Web Site

Lift Communications designed the Citizens' Assembly logo and website. The firm also provided continuous development and technical support throughout the Assembly process. Special thanks to Steve McCormick; Miranda McLellan; Rick Stender; Joel Gregoire; Gil Tam; Ryan Glover; and Tom Murphy. Primus Communications provided web hosting and email services for the Citizens' Assembly.

Focus Testing

Literacy experts and other staff from St. Christopher House, a community service agency in Toronto, volunteered to serve as a focus group to test learning materials produced by the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat early in the process. Special thanks to Rick Eagan; Maureen Fan; Ayasha Handel; Ivy Lehmann; Daniel Liasky; Fernanda Lisvarghi; Natalie Mykal; Odete Nascimento; Rabel Palma; Judi Stively; Genevieve Vallerand; Jennifer Woodill; and Miryam Zevallos. The Office of International Relations and Protocol of the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs shared office space with the Secretariat and was available to provide informal feedback on selected materials. Special thanks to Ricky Norton.

Other Creative Services

Barbara Czamecki provided editorial services for selected materials produced by the Secretariat. Susan Lightstone and Ken Stewart produced videos of politicians from New Zealand and Ireland on their experiences with electoral systems. Brian Lambie of Redbrick Communications provided communications advice during the start-up of the Citizens' Assembly and also provided training to the members in communicating with the public and the media. Gayle Rzadki of Encore Premiums designed distinctive bags and souvenir pins for the Citizens' Assembly.

6. ACCOMMODATION AND TRAVEL

Hotel Accommodation

The Holiday Inn Yorkdale provided hotel accommodation for the Assembly members and guest speakers during the six weekends when the Assembly convened in the learning phase and six weekends in the deliberation phase. The hotel also provided facilities for group meals and meetings, informal evening meetings, and activities. Special thanks to Vanessa Barbieri Prado and Jacqueline Mattioli.

Travel

HRG North America assisted in making travel arrangements for members of the Citizens' Assembly to attend Assembly meetings. Special thanks to Josée Lepine and the agents. Coach Canada provided bus transportation for Assembly members to travel between the hotel and York University. Special thanks to Jeff Clark and Jennifer Jenkins.

Meeting Facilities

Osgoode Hall Law School of York University provided meeting facilities for eleven of the twelve weekend Assembly meetings. Special thanks to Lorna Marsden, York University; and Patrick Monahan; Richard Ogden; and Peter Lee, Osgoode Hall Law School. Thanks also to Mark Heutschi; Heidi Tavone; Manami Hira; Asako Mikami; and Shiori Takagi of Cosmos Catering Ltd. who provided meals and refreshments during these meetings.

7. SPECIAL OFFICES

Democratic Renewal Secretariat

Prior to the launch of the Citizens' Assembly, the Democratic Renewal Secretariat of the Ontario Government conducted preliminary start-up work. This work included launching the initial web site, locating office space for the Secretariat, and identifying Osgoode Hall as the host site for the weekend Assembly meetings. DRS also liaised with the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat on administrative matters.

Elections Ontario

Elections Ontario, the non-partisan body responsible for running Ontario's elections, was responsible for managing the process to select the Citizens' Assembly members and alternates. Elections Ontario invited members of the Secretariat team to attend selection meetings across the province. Special thanks to John L. Hollins, Chief Election Officer; Loren A. Wells, Assistant Chief Election Officer; Cheryl A. Clarke, Project Manager; Shawn Pollack, Manager, Logistics and Planning; Paula Chung, Communications Officer; and all the other staff who participated in the selection process.

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)

Andrew Ellis from IDEA gave permission to post *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook* on the Citizens' Assembly website and furnished Assembly members with copies of this seminal text on designing electoral systems.

Office of the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario

The Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, The Honourable James K. Bartleman, hosted a reception, dinner, and tour of the legislature for Assembly members, in honour of the launch of this historic project, during the first weekend session. His Honour also joined the Assembly to celebrate the conclusion of the project. Thanks, as well, to Nanda Casucci-Byrne and Peter Aylan-Parker.

Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform

Student Vote, the Students' Commission, and The Planning Desk collaborated to create the Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform. This project convened a parallel "Students' Assembly" and developed curriculum on electoral systems to engage many more students through high school civics programs. The project culminated in a presentation by a delegation of high school students who presented their views to the Citizens' Assembly at the start of the deliberation phase. Thanks to all the students, and to the organizers: Taylor Gunn; Lindsay Mazzucco; Pytor Hodgson; Stoney McCart; and Peter MacLeod.

8. TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION

The Canadian Hearing Society helped the Secretariat to arrange for sign language interpretation for Assembly meetings and consultation sessions. Special thanks to the interpreters, Nancie Bowles and Sean Power. Government Translation Services provided French translation for documents produced by the Citizens' Assembly and the Secretariat. Special thanks to Moune Boulerie and Lyse Ward. International Conference Interpreters Inc. provided simultaneous French-English translation at Citizens' Assembly meetings and consultation sessions. Special thanks to Hazel Cole; Beatrice de Montmollin; Sandra Fairman; Wendy Greene; Caroline Napier; and Sylvie Soth.

9. OTHER JURISDICTIONS

BC Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform

During project start up, members and officials from the British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform generously shared the benefit of their expertise and experience with the Chair and senior Secretariat staff. Members: Wendy Bergerud, Shoni Field, Craig Henschel, Jack MacDonald and David Willis. Officials: Jack Blaney, Chair; Ken Carty, Chief Research Officer; Campbell Sharman, Associate Research Officer; Leo Perra, Chief Operations Officer; Cathy Stooshnov, Office Manager; and Marilyn Jacobson, Director of Communications. Special thanks, as well, to Gordon Gibson, author of BC's "Constitution of the Citizens' Assembly." Thanks also to the BC assembly members who participated in a conference call with Ontario's Assembly members as they began their deliberations: Wendy Bergerud, Harley Nyen, Jill Reilly, and Douglas Waller.

Other Countries

In addition to world experts who were guest presenters at Assembly meetings, other international experts provided assistance behind the scenes. The Academic Director of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly liaised with Henk van der Kolk and Manon DeJongh from the Netherlands Electoral System Civic Forum. Daizo Sakurada of Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya, Japan provided assistance with the Japanese electoral system. Matthew Palmer from the New Zealand Law Foundation provided insight on the transition to a new electoral system in that jurisdiction. Matthew Shugart from the University of California at San Diego provided expert advice on MMP system design issues. Elizabeth McLeay, of Victoria University of Wellington, and Helena Catt, Chief Executive of the Electoral Commission of New Zealand, provided advice on Mixed Member Proportional elections in New Zealand.

APPENDICES

A. ASSEMBLY AND SECRETARIAT

A-1: MEMBERS OF THE ONTARIO CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

Chair	George Thomson
Algoma-Manitoulin	Donald Brickett
Ancaster-Dundas-Flamborough-Aldershot	Jeff Witt
Barrie-Simcoe-Bradford	Karl Cadera
Beaches-East York	Catherine Baquero
Bramalea-Gore-Malton-Springdale	Theresa Vella
Brampton Centre	Joyce Hughes
Brampton West-Mississauga	Mappanar Sundrelingam
Brant	Leana Swanson
Bruce-Grey-Owen Sound	Arita Droog
Burlington	Sandra Richter
Cambridge	Jerrold Labrecque
Chatham-Kent Essex	Jean Thompson
Davenport	Jon Bridgman
Don Valley East	Olivera Bakic
Don Valley West	Taylor Gilbert
Dufferin-Peel-Wellington-Grey	Matthew L.O. Certosimo
Durham	Margo Bath
Eglinton-Lawrence	Laura Antonio
Elgin-Middlesex-London	Darcie Beckley
Erie-Lincoln	John Toll
Essex	Tamara Fick
Etobicoke Centre	Melinda Selmys
Etobicoke North	Zaya Yonan
Etobicoke-Lakeshore	Tom Engelhart
Glengarry-Prescott-Russell	Roxanne Taillon
Guelph-Wellington	Elsayed Abdelaal

Haldimand-Norfolk-Brant	Jon Kristman
Haliburton-Victoria-Brock	Marie McLaren
Halton	John Daley
Hamilton East	Rose Arsenault
Hamilton Mountain	Jennie Stakich
Hamilton West	Frank O'Grady
Hastings-Frontenac-Lennox and Addington	Dianne Carey
Huron-Bruce	Scott Allen
Kenora-Rainy River	Julia Craner
Kingston and the Islands	Buddhadeb Chakrabarty
Kitchener Centre	Marcia Soeda
Kitchener-Waterloo	Ron VanKoughnett
Lambton-Kent-Middlesex	Peter Soroka
Lanark-Carleton	Bruno Steinke
Leeds-Grenville	Fran Byers
London North Centre	Catarina Fernandes
London West	George Dennis
London-Fanshawe	Linda Barnum
Markham	Andrea Cornacchia
Mississauga Centre	Salma Aziz
Mississauga East	Carolyn Agasild
Mississauga South	Ellen Chan
Mississauga West	Patrick Heenan
Nepean-Carleton	Peter Warren
Niagara Centre	Stephanie Jones
Niagara Falls	Salvacón Villamil
Nickel Belt	Richard Bowdidge
Nipissing	Roland Gibeau
Northumberland	Wendy Lawrence

Oak Ridges	Pat Miller
Oakville	Laura Wells
Oshawa	Nancy Collins
Ottawa Centre	Tara Currie
Ottawa South	John Townesend
Ottawa West-Nepean	Carl Berger
Ottawa-Orléans	Thomas Taylor
Ottawa-Vanier	Chris Doody
Oxford	Margaret Messenger
Parkdale-High Park	Andrea Kirkham
Parry Sound-Muskoka	Jordan Elliott
Perth-Middlesex	Lynda Dill
Peterborough	Ann Thomas
Pickering-Ajax-Uxbridge	Raj Roopansingh
Prince Edward-Hastings	Cornelio Reyes
Renfrew-Nipissing-Pembroke	Maureen Grace
Sarnia-Lambton	Jim Passingham
Sault Ste. Marie	David Viitala
Scarborough Centre	Donna Tichonchuk
Scarborough East	Monica Wappel
Scarborough Southwest	Elton Pinto
Scarborough-Agincourt	Catherine Shum
Scarborough-Rouge River	Al Joseph
Simcoe North	Georgette Amadio
Simcoe-Grey	Elaine Pommer
St. Catharines	Ron Green
St. Paul's	Rick Smith
Stoney Creek	Sue Tiley
Stormont-Dundas-Charlottenburgh	David Proulx

Sudbury	Christine Robert
Thornhill	Paul Litowitz
Thunder Bay-Atikokan	Nuala Wieckowski
Thunder Bay-Superior North	Pam Patterson
Timiskaming-Cochrane	Hal Willis
Timmins-James Bay	Lise Breton
Toronto Centre-Rosedale	Mayte Darraidou
Toronto-Danforth	Ekaterini Traikos
Trinity-Spadina	Garth Nichols
Vaughan-King-Aurora	John Reston
Waterloo-Wellington	Bill Ritz
Whitby-Ajax	Ted Savelle
Willowdale	Bryan Byong-Kuon Kim
Windsor West	Marisa Squizzato
Windsor-St.Clair	Mary Jane McMullen
York Centre	Tom Ricci
York North	Edmund James
York South-Weston	William Kwegyir-Aggrey
York West	Nathan Duru-Obisi

A-2: CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT TEAM

Carole Brosseau	Office Manager
Kelly Burke	Senior Advisor & Counsel to the Chair
Karen Cohl	Executive Director
Cora Conway	Assistant to Directors
Carol Fleming	Database Administrator
Jennifer Gough	Senior Events Planner
Dahlia Klinger	Senior Policy Advisor
Barry Koen-Butt	Executive Lead, Communications
Mark Lyons	Policy Analyst & Researcher
Michael MacKenzie	Policy Analyst & Researcher
Huma Pabani	Senior Communications Officer
Susan Pigott	Executive Lead, Citizen Engagement
Tiana Pollari	Administrative Coordinator
Jonathan Rose	Academic Director
George Thomson	Chair
Rick Yee	Project Specialist and Executive Assistant

B. MANDATE

B-1: GOVERNMENT NEWS RELEASE, NOVEMBER 18, 2004

Ontario

News Release
Communiqué

Office of the Premier

Cabinet du Premier ministre

For Immediate Release
November 18, 2004

ONTARIANS TO HAVE A SAY ON ELECTORAL REFORM

Citizens' Assembly Will Re-examine How We Elect MPPs

TORONTO – An assembly of citizens from across Ontario will be empowered to re-examine our first-past-the-post electoral system and recommend possible changes, says Premier Dalton McGuinty.

"If that assembly recommends an alternative, we will hold a referendum on that alternative within our mandate," the Premier said in a speech to the government-sponsored Dialogue on Democracy conference.

"When it comes to how the people elect their representatives, the people of Ontario will have their say."

The review of Ontario's electoral system is part of an aggressive agenda to strengthen democracy in the province.

The Premier also announced that a citizens' jury will be asked to make recommendations to the government regarding changes in how provincial political parties and election campaigns are financed.

"It's not enough for our decisions to be beyond the influence of political contributions," the Premier said.

"They must be perceived to be beyond the influence of political contributions."

The Premier outlined the government's record on democratic renewal.

It includes the introduction of several pieces of legislation that will, if passed:

- Fix election dates every four years instead of leaving it to the Premier of the day to choose a date based on political considerations
- Require that the provincial auditor review and report on the province's finances before an election

- Ban government spending on self-serving, partisan political advertising
- Extend the provincial auditor's powers to conduct value-for-money audits of institutions in the broader public sector, such as school boards, universities, colleges and hospitals.

In addition, the government has extended the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act and the Public Sector Salary Disclosure Act to the provincial hydro companies.

"This is the most ambitious democratic renewal effort in North America," said Michael Bryant, Ontario's first Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal.

"We will involve Ontarians directly in improving the quality of our democracy, modernizing our political institutions, and restoring public faith in government."

Tomorrow, Bryant is to announce efforts to engage young people in our democracy.

The Premier said the citizens' assembly on electoral reform will be free to consider all options.

"It may be that Ontarians choose to keep our first-past-the-post system. That's fine. The very exercise of re-examining our electoral system will reinvigorate and heighten our appreciation of it," he said.

"This is a matter for Ontarians to decide. Our responsibility is to ensure the public's voice is heard loud and clear, and has an impact."

For more information:
Premier's Media Office
416-314-8975

Disponible en français
www.premier.gov.on.ca

B-2: ELECTION ACT (SECTIONS 17.7, 17.8 AND 17.9)

Election Act

R.S.O. 1990, CHAPTER E.6
Representative Bodies of Electors

Definition

17.7 In sections 17.8 to 17.10, "Minister" means the Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal. 2005, c. 23, s. 3.

Regulations

17.8

(1) The Lieutenant Governor in Council may, by regulation,

(a) provide that the Minister shall assemble a representative body of electors to consider specified matters relating to the reform, in the context of democratic renewal, of the statutes for which the Minister has responsibility;

(b) specify the terms of reference of the representative body, including,

(i) the matters described in clause (a) that it shall consider,

(ii) with respect to each matter, whether the representative body shall make a recommendation or a decision,

(iii) the manner in which the representative body shall meet, deliberate, gather information and conduct hearings,

(iv) the date by which the representative body shall complete its work and submit a report to the Minister;

(c) specify the number of members, and the number of alternates, if any, who shall compose the representative body, and prescribe eligibility criteria for members, and for alternates, if any;

(d) specify the date by which the Chief Election Officer shall provide the list and personal information to the Minister under paragraph 6 of section 17.9;

(e) permit the Chief Election Officer to enter into a memorandum of understanding with the Minister;

(f) deal with any other matter that is necessary or desirable to allow the representative body to perform its functions. 2005, c. 23, s. 3.

Amendment

(2) A regulation made under subsection (1) may be amended from time to time. 2005, c. 23, s. 3.

Duty of Chief Election Officer

17.9 When a regulation has been made under section 17.8, the Chief Election Officer shall prepare the list of members, and of alternates, if any, and the necessary personal information in accordance with the following rules:

1. The Chief Election Officer shall draw from the permanent register of electors a number of names that is large enough, in his or her opinion, to compose a pool of sufficient size for the purposes of paragraph 4.
2. The sampling methodology used under paragraph 1 shall be consistent with the prescribed eligibility criteria. In all other respects, the Chief Election Officer has discretion to establish the sampling methodology.
3. The Chief Election Officer shall contact each person whose name is in the pool, at the address shown in the permanent register of electors, to ask whether the person,
   i. wishes to participate in the work of the representative body, and
   ii. consents to the collection of the personal information that is necessary to,
      A. determine eligibility in accordance with the prescribed eligibility criteria, and
      B. allow the Minister to contact the person for the purpose of clause 17.8 (1) (a).
4. Once the persons whose names are in the pool and who have responded in the affirmative to both questions under paragraph 3 have all been identified, the Chief Election Officer shall select from among them the members, and the alternates, if any, who will compose the representative body, in accordance with the prescribed eligibility criteria.
5. The selection methodology used under paragraph 4 shall be consistent with the prescribed eligibility criteria. In all other respects, the Chief Election Officer has discretion to establish the methodology.
6. The Chief Election Officer shall prepare a list of the persons selected under paragraph 4, together with the personal information described in subparagraph 3 ii, and shall provide the list and personal information to the Minister. 2005, c. 23, s. 3.

B-3: ONTARIO REGULATION 82/06

Election Act

ONTARIO REGULATION 82/06
No Amendments
Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform

Definition

1. In this Regulation, "assembly" means the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform assembled in accordance with this Regulation. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 1.

Duty of Minister

2. The Minister shall assemble a representative body of electors, to be known as the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform, in accordance with subsection 17.8 (1) of the Act and with this Regulation. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 2.

Terms of reference

3. (1) The assembly,

   (a) shall assess Ontario's current electoral system and different electoral systems; and

   (b) shall recommend whether Ontario should retain its current electoral system or adopt a different one. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 3 (1).

   (2) Without restricting the generality of clause (1) (a), in assessing electoral systems the assembly shall consider the principles and characteristics listed in Table 1. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 3 (2).

   (3) Subsection (2) does not prevent the assembly from considering any other principle or characteristic it considers relevant. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 3 (3).

   (4) Any different electoral system whose adoption the assembly recommends,

   (a) shall be described clearly and in detail; and

   (b) shall be consistent with the Constitution of Canada. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 3 (4).

   (5) The assembly shall consult with a broad cross-section of Ontarians. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 3 (5).

   (6) Without restricting the generality of subsection (5), the assembly may consult with,

   (a) members of the former Select Committee on Electoral Reform, which delivered its report on November 29, 2005; and

   (b) three members of the Ontario Association of Former Parliamentarians, each of whom is nominated by that association to represent one of the three recognized political parties in the Legislative Assembly. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 3 (6).

(7) The assembly shall give members of the public the opportunity to make written and oral submissions. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 3 (7).

(8) The assembly shall complete its work and submit a report in English and French containing its recommendations to the Minister on or before May 15, 2007. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 3 (8).

Members and alternates

4. (1) The assembly shall consist of 104 members, as follows:

1. A chair appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council.
2. One member from each of Ontario's 103 electoral districts. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 4 (1).

(2) 52 of the members described in paragraph 2 of subsection (1) shall be female and 51 shall be male. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 4 (2).

(3) One member shall be a person who identifies himself or herself as an Aboriginal person, that is, a person who is a North American Indian, Metis or Inuit. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 4 (3).

(4) For each electoral district, there shall be a first alternate and a second alternate, of the same sex as the member from that electoral district. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 4 (4).

(5) A person may not be a member or alternate,

(a) if he or she is,

(i) a member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario or the Senate or House of Commons of Canada,

(ii) an elected member of a municipal government, including a board under the Education Act,

(iii) an officer of a party, constituency association or electoral district association that is registered under the Election Finances Act or the Canada Elections Act, or

(iv) a candidate of a party that is registered under the Election Finances Act or the Canada Elections Act;

(b) if he or she holds an appointment made by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, other than under this Regulation, or by the Governor in Council; or

(c) if he or she has been convicted of contravening the Election Act, the Election Finances Act, the Municipal Elections Act, 1996 or any similar Act of Canada or of another province or territory. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 4 (5).

Duty of Chief Election Officer

5. The Chief Election Officer shall provide the list and personal information to the Minister under paragraph 6 of section 17.9 of the Act on or before July 14, 2006. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 5.

Alternates and replacement of members from electoral districts

6. (1) The replacement of members of the assembly described in paragraph 2 of subsection 4 (1) by alternates from the same electoral districts is governed by the following rules:

1. Before the assembly's first meeting, if the Minister becomes aware that a member is unable to participate for any reason, the vacancy shall be filled.
2. During or after the assembly's first meeting but before it begins public consultations, if a member withdraws, dies or is expelled, the vacancy shall be filled, but only if the total number of members has fallen to 76 or fewer.
3. After the assembly begins public consultations, if a member withdraws, dies or is expelled, the vacancy shall not be filled.
4. When a vacancy is filled, the first alternate (or the second alternate, if the first is not available) becomes the member of the assembly from the relevant electoral district. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 6 (1).

(2) A member, other than the chair, may be expelled for cause by the vote of two-thirds of the members of the assembly who are present and voting. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 6 (2).

Duties of chair

7. The chair,

(a) shall oversee and facilitate the work of the assembly;

(b) shall ensure that the members of the assembly are provided with appropriate educational resources;

(c) may choose from the other members of the assembly up to three deputy chairs to assist him or her;

(d) shall prepare rules of procedure for approval by the assembly;

(e) shall preside over meetings of the assembly; and

(f) shall promptly advise the Minister whenever a vacancy arises during or after the assembly's first meeting. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 7.

Proceedings of assembly

8. (1) The assembly's decisions shall be made by a vote of the majority of the members present. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 8 (1).

(2) The chair shall not vote, except to break a tie. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 8 (2).

(3) Meetings of the whole assembly shall be open to the public, but meetings of smaller subgroups need not be. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 8 (3).

(4) A person with a disability who is entitled to attend a meeting is entitled, on request, to have the meeting conducted so as to be accessible to him or her. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 8 (4).

(5) Simultaneous interpretation between French and English shall be made available, on request, for members and for the public at meetings of the whole assembly and at meetings of smaller subgroups. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 8 (5).

(6) The assembly's publications shall be made available in French and English. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 8 (6).

(7) A person with a disability is entitled, on request, to have access to any or all of the assembly's publications in an alternative format. O. Reg. 82/06, s. 8 (7).

Table 1

Principle	Characteristics
Legitimacy	The electoral system should have the confidence of Ontarians and reflect their values.
Fairness of representation	The Legislative Assembly should reflect the population of Ontario in accordance with demographic representation, proportionality and representation by population, among other factors.
Voter choice	The electoral system should promote voter choice in terms of quantity and quality of options available to voters.
Effective parties	Political parties should be able to structure public debate, mobilize and engage the electorate, and develop policy alternatives.
Stable and effective government	The electoral system should contribute to continuity of government, and governments should be able to develop and implement their agendas and take decisive action when required.
Effective parliament	The Legislative Assembly should include a government and opposition, and should be able to perform its parliamentary functions successfully.
Stronger voter participation	Ontario's electoral system should promote voter participation as well as engagement with the broader democratic process.
Accountability	Ontario voters should be able to identify decision-makers and hold them to account.

B-4: GOVERNMENT NEWS RELEASE, MARCH 27, 2006

News Release
Communiqué

Ontario

Democratic Renewal Secretariat

Secrétariat du renouveau démocratique

For Immediate Release
March 27, 2006

MCGUINTY GOVERNMENT MOVES FORWARD ON HISTORIC ELECTORAL REFORM INITIATIVE

Chair Named To Lead Independent Examination Of Electoral System

TORONTO – Ontario citizens will soon have an opportunity to choose whether to keep or change the electoral system they have inherited, Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal Marie Bountrogianni announced today as she unveiled the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform.

"We're reaching out to Ontarians and inviting them to participate in an ambitious process to renew Ontario's democracy," Bountrogianni said. "The Citizens' Assembly is a new form of decision-making that will empower citizens as never before. No government in this province has ever given citizens this kind of opportunity to shape Ontario's democracy."

The independent Citizens' Assembly will assess Ontario's current electoral system and others, and recommend whether Ontario should keep the current system or adopt a new one. If the Assembly recommends a change, the government will hold a referendum on that alternative within its current mandate.

"This marks a historic opportunity for all Ontarians to have an impact on the province's future," added Bountrogianni. "For the first time, citizens will participate in a full, open debate on which electoral system best serves Ontario."

The Assembly will be made up of 103 citizens – one from each of Ontario's ridings – randomly selected from the Permanent Register of Electors for Ontario by Elections Ontario. There will be 52 female and 51 male Assembly members.

Assembly meetings are expected to begin in September 2006 under the leadership of the appointed chair, George Thomson. Thomson is a former provincial court judge, deputy minister in both the Ontario and federal governments and director of education for the Law Society of Upper Canada. He is currently the Senior Director of International Programs for the National Judicial Institute.

"I am really excited to be leading this province's re-examination of our electoral system," said Thomson. "I want to invite every Ontarian to join in this inclusive, provincewide dialogue on electoral reform."

Selection of Assembly members will begin in the spring. Individuals can ensure they are on the register and eligible for selection by calling Elections Ontario at 1-866-771-6315 by April 10, 2006.

Contacts:
Sarah Charuk
Minister's Office
416-212-7234

Disponible en français
www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca

B-5: RULES OF PROCEDURE

Rules of Procedures for Assembly Meetings

Overall Approach

1. Common sense and reasonableness will be the primary guides in determining how we conduct our meetings.
2. We will conduct ourselves in an organized but informal manner that reflects our values for working together and avoids formal "rules of order." The Chair may decide on more formal procedures, if necessary, after hearing the views of the Assembly.
3. Members will signal their wish to speak in plenary sessions by raising their hands. The Chair will indicate to speakers if he feels they have gone over a reasonable limit, given the need to focus on objectives within timelines.
4. The Chair will ensure there are regular open forums or question periods to consider any matters of interest to Assembly members. There will be at least one such session every weekend for at least 15 minutes.

Decision-making

5. A quorum will be 60% of the membership. A quorum is the number of members required to be in attendance before the Assembly can function or make decisions. The final decision or decisions of the Assembly regarding what to recommend will require a majority of the Assembly – 50% +1.
6. Where possible, decisions will be reached by consensus. Consensus means that, in the opinion of the Chair, a very clear majority of the members support or 'can live with' the decision. When the Chair summarizes a consensus position, that is the equivalent of a vote unless a vote is requested by several Assembly members. Members have the right to question the Chair on whether consensus exists and whether his summary of consensus is accurate.
7. Voting will be by a show of hands or by electronic voting. The Chair may consult with the Assembly and decide that a particular vote shall be by secret ballot.
8. The Chair can only exercise his right to vote if the Assembly members produce a tie.
9. The Chair will consult the Assembly before determining when a vote is intended to be a final decision on an issue before the Assembly.
10. The Chair will ensure that all decisions of the Assembly are recorded and provided to the Assembly in the form of meeting notes for approval. Once approved, the meeting notes will be posted on the Citizens' Assembly website.

Sub-groups

11. Smaller discussion groups will be formed each weekend with facilitators. These groups will be roughly equal in size, with adjustments to ensure the needs for French and English-speaking Assembly members are met. Discussion group membership will be changed every weekend.

12. In addition, the Chair may propose the creation of working groups to consider one or more topics and report back to the Assembly. Membership in a working group will be voluntary.

Openness

13. Meetings of the whole Assembly will be open to the public and the media.

14. Members of the public and media are observers and shall not disrupt the proceedings. Observers are not to engage in discussions with Assembly members while the Assembly is in session.

15. One discussion group at each Assembly meeting will be open to public observers and its discussions may be videotaped as a representative small group. Assembly members assigned to this group may choose to join another discussion group. Members may also decide that this group should not be open to the public if they feel they require privacy for a particular discussion.

16. The Assembly may decide by majority vote to meet privately in one or more large discussion groups to consider any particular matter.

Revisions

17. The Chair or several Assembly members may ask the Assembly to review and, if necessary, reconfirm these rules of procedure during the life of the Assembly.

C. SELECTION PHASE

C-1: INITIAL LETTER FROM ELECTIONS ONTARIO

Elections Ontario
51 ROLARK DRIVE, TORONTO, ONTARIO M1R 3B1 • VOICE: (416) 326-6300 TTY: 1-888-292-2312 FAX: (416) 326-6200
51, PROM. ROLARK, TORONTO (ONTARIO) M1R 3B1 • VOIX : (416) 326-6300 ATS : 1-888-292-2312 FAX : (416) 326-6200

April 21, 2006

NAME
ADDRESS
ADDRESS
CITY/TOWN/POSTAL CODE

RE: Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform

Sir/Madam:

The Chief Election Officer has been authorized to select people from the Permanent Register of Electors for Ontario and to contact them to determine their interest in participating in the work of the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform.

You are one of a number of individuals selected to receive this letter. If you are interested in membership in the Assembly, you must indicate to Elections Ontario that you wish to participate and consent to your name being entered into a pool of eligible electors. From this pool, 103 members – one for each provincial electoral district – will be selected for the Citizens' Assembly.

Please complete and sign the attached form and return it by fax, mail or e-mail to confirm your interest and consent. **Replies must be received by Elections Ontario no later than 4:00PM on Friday, May 12, 2006.** Unfortunately, if you are not able to respond by this date, your name cannot be entered into the selection pool.

Enclosed is a pamphlet from the Chairman of the Citizens' Assembly to help you make your decision. If you have further questions about the Citizens' Assembly, please call 1-866-656-9908, (TTY for persons who are hard of hearing) 1-800-387-5559 or visit www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca.

If you have questions about your participation in the selection process, please contact Elections Ontario at 1-866-771-6315, or visit our website at www.electionsontario.on.ca.

Yours sincerely,

John L. Hollins
Chief Election Officer

C-2: LETTER FROM ELECTIONS ONTARIO TO ATTEND SELECTION MEETING

May 15, 2006

«NAME»
«ENVELOPE_LINE_1»
«ENVELOPE_LINE_2»
«ENVELOPE_LINE_3» «ENVELOPE_LINE_4»

Sir/Madam:

Thank you very much for your interest in becoming a member of the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform. As you know, Elections Ontario has been authorized to select at random, from the Permanent Register of Electors for Ontario, a list of individuals who are eligible to sit as members of the Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform.

Your name has been randomly selected from a pool of electors in your electoral district who, like you, have responded with their wish to participate in the next phase of this selection process. In the final stage of the selection process, you are invited to attend a meeting where we will draw for the Assembly member and two alternates for your electoral district. This meeting will be held on **«meet_date», from «meet_time»**, at:

«hotel_name»
«Hotel_address»
«Hotel_city», «Hotel_province»
«hotel_phone»

Prior to drawing names at the meeting for the primary member and alternates for the electoral district, we want you to be able to make an informed decision regarding your participation in the Citizens' Assembly. To assist you with this, we have invited a representative from the Citizens' Assembly to attend the meeting in order to provide additional information on the Assembly's activities and to answer any questions that you may have before the selection process is complete.

You must be in attendance to be considered in the draw. If your name is drawn and you wish to accept the position as a member or alternate for your electoral district, you will be required to sign a consent form at the meeting that allows Elections Ontario to provide your name and relevant personal information to the Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal. Please also be aware that the media may be in attendance at the selection meeting.

Elections Ontario will cover certain costs related to your attendance at the selection meeting. These include reimbursement for the cost of the most economical means of travel to and from the meeting location, including reimbursement for road travel over 40 km return (under 40 km will not be reimbursed). Your attendance will be considered voluntary and there will be no payment to you for your time.

Attendees who must travel for more than 1 1/2 hours may request consideration for overnight accommodation and are eligible for a per diem meal allowance of $34 per day. In such cases, Elections Ontario will arrange for and cover the cost of a single room in the above-mentioned hotel.

For attendees traveling by bus, rail or air, Elections Ontario will make every effort to arrange to cover the cost in advance with the travel provider. If this is not possible, we will submit a claim form for reimbursement upon presentation of your receipt(s). You will be responsible for reimbursing Elections Ontario for unused travel.

Your next step is to call Elections Ontario by **May 19, 2006** at **1-888-834-7770**, between the hours of 9AM and 8PM to let us know if you can attend the meeting. When you call, we can assist you with any questions you have about the meetings or the enclosed form.

After you call, you must then complete, sign and return the enclosed form before **4PM on May 23rd, 2006**. While fax is preferred, you may also submit the form by mail or by scanning the form and sending it by e-mail.

We appreciate your prompt response in helping us to ensure that we can meet your needs effectively and efficiently.

Yours truly,

John L. Hollins
Chief Election Officer

Encl.

C-3: SELECTION MEETING SCHEDULE

Location	Time	Electoral Districts
Saturday, May 27, 2006		
Courtyard by Marriott Downtown Toronto Toronto	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	Beaches-East York Toronto Danforth Don Valley East Don Valley West
	12 noon – 1:30 p.m.	Durham Oshawa Pickering-Ajax-Uxbridge Whitby-Ajax
Sunday, May 28, 2006		
Valhalla Inn Thunder Bay	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	Kenora-Rainy River (Aboriginal selection meeting)
Saturday, June 3, 2006		
Holiday Inn on King Toronto	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	St. Paul's Toronto Centre-Rosedale Trinity-Spadina
	12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Davenport Eglinton-Lawrence Parkdale-High Park Willowdale York South-Weston
	3:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.	Scarborough-Agincourt Scarborough-Centre Scarborough-East Scarborough-Rouge River Scarborough Southwest

Location	Time	Electoral Districts
Holiday Inn Toronto West Mississauga	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	Mississauga Centre Mississauga East Mississauga South Mississauga West
	12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Bramalea-Gore-Malton-Springdale Brampton Centre Brampton West-Mississauga Halton Oakville
Four Points by Sheraton Hotel & Suites London	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	London North Centre London West London-Fanshawe Oxford
	1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Elgin-Middlesex-London Lambton-Kent-Middlesex Perth-Middlesex Sarnia-Lambton
Sunday, June 4, 2006		
Holiday Inn on King Toronto	12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Etobicoke Centre Etobicoke-Lakeshore Etobicoke North York West York Centre
	3:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.	Markham Oak Ridges Thornhill Vaughan-King-Aurora York North

Location	Time	Electoral Districts
Sheraton Hamilton Hotel Hamilton	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	Burlington Hamilton East Hamilton Mountain Hamilton West
	12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.	Erie-Lincoln Niagara Centre Niagara Falls St. Catharines
	3:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.	Brant Haldimand-Norfolk-Brant Stoney Creek Ancaster-Dundas-Flamborough-Aldershot
Sunday, June 4, 2006		
Radisson Riverfront Hotel Windsor	1:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.	Essex Chatham-Kent-Essex Windsor West Windsor-St. Clair
Saturday, June 10, 2006		
Holiday Inn Peterborough Waterfront Peterborough	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	Northumberland Peterborough Haliburton-Victoria-Brock
Radisson Hotel Kitchener Kitchener	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	Cambridge Guelph-Wellington Kitchener Centre Kitchener-Waterloo Waterloo-Wellington

Location	Time	Electoral Districts
Sunday, June 11, 2006		
Holiday Inn Kingston Waterfront Hotel Kingston	1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Hastings-Frontenac-Lennox and Addington Kingston and the Islands Prince Edward-Hastings Leeds-Grenville
Days Inn & Conference Centre Owen Sound	1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Bruce-Grey-Owen Sound Dufferin-Peel-Wellington-Grey Huron-Bruce
Thursday, June 15, 2006		
Ramada Inn & Conference Centre Cornwall	7:00 p.m. – 8:30 p.m.	Glengarry-Prescott-Russell Stormont-Dundas-Charlottenburgh
Saturday, June 17, 2006		
Embassy West Hotel & Conference Centre Ottawa	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	Ottawa Centre Ottawa South Ottawa-Vanier Ottawa West-Nepean
	1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Ottawa-Orleans Lanark-Carleton Nepean-Carleton Renfrew-Nipissing-Pembroke
Mariposa Inn and Conference Centre Orillia	1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Barrie-Simcoe-Bradford Simcoe-Grey Simcoe North

Location	Time	Electoral Districts
Friday, June 23, 2006		
Best Western North Bay North Bay	7:00 p.m. – 8:30 p.m.	Nipissing Parry Sound-Muskoka
Saturday, June 24, 2006		
Travelodge Hotel Sudbury	9:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.	Nickel Belt Sudbury Timiskaming-Cochrane
Sunday, June 25, 2006		
Holiday Inn Sault Ste. Marie Waterfront Sault Ste. Marie	1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Algoma-Manitoulin Sault Ste. Marie
Valhalla Inn Thunder Bay	1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Thunder Bay-Atikokan Thunder Bay-Superior North
Travelodge Timmins Timmins	1:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.	Timmins-James Bay

D. LEARNING PHASE

D-1: LEARNING PHASE OBJECTIVES

WEEKEND ONE (SEPTEMBER 9/10)

Objectives:

- Achieve consensus on values and procedures for working together
- Learn how different electoral systems produce different results
- Get an introduction to the learning phase
- Begin to identify the desired principles and characteristics of electoral systems

WEEKEND TWO (SEPTEMBER 30/OCTOBER 1)

Objectives:

- Learn basic concepts about government, legislatures, and political parties and begin to think about their connection to electoral systems
- Learn about different types of political representation
- Discuss principles to consider in electoral system design
- Establish working groups and procedural advisory committees
- Achieve consensus on key elements of the public consultation process

WEEKEND THREE (OCTOBER 14/15)

Objectives:

- Learn about electoral systems in general and their key components
- Learn about the plurality and majority families of electoral systems
- Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of Ontario's current system in more detail
- Approve the consultation plan and guide
- Begin the work of working groups and advisory committees

WEEKEND FOUR (OCTOBER 28/29)

Objectives:

- Learn about the proportional and mixed families of electoral systems
- Prepare for consultation meetings
- "Take stock"

WEEKEND FIVE (NOVEMBER 11/12)

Objectives:

- Learn about the values or principles that led to the design of electoral systems or proposals for reform in other parts of the world
- Begin discussing how to weigh the principles

WEEKEND SIX (NOVEMBER 25/26)

Objectives:

- Obtain hands-on experience with ballot structures and voting methods
- Learn how changing the features of electoral systems produces different results
- Learn what must be decided when designing systems
- Hear from each working group about research findings and issues

D-2: GUEST SPEAKERS

Learning Phase

WEEKEND 2

- Dianne Cunningham, Former Member of Provincial Parliament (September 30, 2006)
- Joan Fawcett, Former Member of Provincial Parliament (September 30, 2006)
- Ailsa Henderson, University of Toronto (September 30, 2006)
- Floyd Laughren, Former Member of Provincial Parliament (September 30, 2006)
- Taylor Gunn, Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform (October 1, 2006)
- Peter MacLeod, Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform (October 1, 2006)

WEEKEND 3

- Peter MacLeod, Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform (October 14, 2006)
- David Docherty, Wilfrid Laurier University (October 15, 2006)
- Larry LeDuc, University of Toronto (October 15, 2006)
- Jennifer Smith, Dalhousie University (October 15, 2006)

WEEKEND 5

- Sarah Birch, University of Essex, UK (November 11, 2006)
- André Blais, Université de Montreal (November 11, 2006)
- Ken Carty, University of British Columbia (November 11, 2006)
- Bill Cross, Carleton University (November 11, 2006)
- David Farrell, University of Manchester, UK (November 11, 2006)
- Elizabeth McLeay, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand (November 11, 2006)
- Louis Massicotte, Université de Montreal and American University, Washington DC (November 11, 2006)

WEEKEND 6

- Ailsa Henderson, University of Toronto (November 24 & 25, 2006)
- Heather MacIvor, University of Windsor (November 25, 2006)

Deliberation Phase

WEEKEND 1

- Ivan Fellegi, Chief Statistician of Canada, Statistics Canada (February 17, 2007)

WEEKEND 4

- Brian Lambie, Redbrick Communications (March 31, 2007)

WEEKEND 6

- Honourable Minister Marie Bountrogianni, Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and Minister Responsible for Democratic Renewal (April 28, 2007)

D-3: TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR ACADEMIC REFERENCE GROUP

Tasks:

Members of the Academic Reference Group will:

1. Provide feedback on the outline of the curriculum of the Learning Phase of the Citizens' Assembly (CA).

   They will provide input on the curriculum of the CA and make suggestions on suitability of topics, pace of instruction, broad weekend topics as well as provide feedback on any gaps in the program. Individual members of the Reference Group may also be consulted on particular elements of the learning program by the Academic Director.

2. Act as a resource for CA members.

   The Academic Reference Group will also be an academic support for members of the CA. Their names, affiliations, areas of expertise and contact information will be given to members who wish to pursue further research. The obligation of the Reference Group will be to answer questions from members about literature/research in their area of expertise.

The members of the Academic Reference Group are persons who will likely be contacted by the media as the CA does its work. Their involvement in the Reference Group will assist them in responding to questions from the media, students and other faculty.

Meetings and Modes of Communication

The expectation is that there will be two live meetings in Toronto at the CA office though much of the communication will be primarily by email. The first meeting will take place in late June or July and will be an opportunity to provide feedback on the broad direction of the curriculum. The second meeting will take place during the Learning Phase. Its purpose will be to provide an opportunity to update the Group on the progress of the CA and to respond to any changes that might be required in the curriculum. Transportation expenses will be reimbursed under provincial government guidelines.

Reference group members are not restricted in their ability to advocate electoral systems or publicly comment on initiatives of the Ontario government.

The members of the Academic Reference Group will each receive an honorarium ($500) in recognition of their contribution.

E. CONSULTATION PHASE

E-1: PUBLIC CONSULTATION MEETING SCHEDULE & ATTENDANCE

Consultation Meeting Attendance

Location	Meeting Date	Panel Members	Registered Presenters	Informal Presenters	Public Attendees
Barrie	Thursday, December 07, 2006	3	4	7	20
Belleville	Monday, January 15, 2007	4	10	13	58
Bracebridge	Thursday, January 18, 2007	3	6	17	45
Brampton	Monday, November 20, 2006	3	3	0	27
Burlington	Thursday, January 18, 2007	4	8	0	56
Chatham	Wednesday, January 24, 2007	4	2	13	25
Cornwall (bilingual)	Monday, January 15, 2007	4	6	5	25
Dryden	Monday, November 27, 2006	4	1	6	7
Etobicoke	Tuesday, January 23, 2007	5	12	7	79
Guelph	Saturday, January 20, 2007	4	9	10	60
Hamilton	Wednesday, December 06, 2006	4	9	6	39
Kenora	Tuesday, January 23, 2007	3	2	7	10
Kingston	Tuesday, January 16, 2007	5	14	6	96
Kitchener-Waterloo	Wednesday, January 10, 2007	4	13	1	112
London	Tuesday, January 09, 2007	5	12	9	73
Markham	Monday, December 04, 2006	5	2	4	20
Mississauga	Tuesday, November 21, 2006	5	5	0	35
Niagara Falls (bilingual)	Monday, January 22, 2007	3	6	9	28
North Bay	Tuesday, November 28, 2006	4	2	0	17
Oakville	Wednesday, November 22, 2006	4	9	5	45
Orangeville	Wednesday, December 06, 2006	3	5	8	30
Oshawa	Tuesday, November 21, 2006	4	7	0	38
Ottawa (bilingual)	Thursday, January 11, 2007	4	8	4	75
Ottawa (bilingual)	Tuesday, January 16, 2007	4	14	7	150

Location	Meeting Date	Panel Members	Registered Presenters	Informal Presenters	Public Attendees
Owen Sound	Monday, December 04, 2006	3	9	0	35
Perth	Wednesday, January 17, 2007	5	7	7	35
Peterborough	Tuesday, December 05, 2006	2	14	4	61
Sarnia	Wednesday, January 10, 2007	3	5	11	32
Sault Ste. Marie	Wednesday, November 29, 2006	3	3	10	15
Scarborough	Thursday, December 07, 2006	5	8	1	51
St. Catharines	Thursday, November 30, 2006	4	3	4	12
Sudbury (bilingual)	Wednesday, November 29, 2006	2	4	4	22
Thunder Bay	Tuesday, November 28, 2006	2	5	0	20
Timmins (bilingual)	Monday, November 27, 2006	3	0	0	12
Toronto Central (bilingual)	Wednesday, January 17, 2007	8	13	13	200
Toronto Central	Sunday, January 21, 2007	6	13	0	32
Toronto Central (ASL)	Monday, January 22, 2007	2	2	0	20
Toronto Central	Thursday, January 25, 2007	7	13	0	117
Toronto North	Monday, January 08, 2007	5	14	0	60
Toronto West (ASL)	Monday, January 08, 2007	3	12	0	52
Windsor (bilingual)	Tuesday, January 09, 2007	5	1	8	27
Total Attendance			295	206	1973

E-2: SPECIAL OUTREACH FOCUS GROUP SCHEDULE

Social Planning Network of Ontario

2006

Peel

Tuesday, November 21
Local Host: Social Planning Council of Peel
Erin Mills United Church, Mississauga

Sudbury

Wednesday, November 29
Local Host: Social Planning Council of Sudbury
Basement Community Meeting Room, Sudbury

2007

Ottawa

Wednesday, January 17
Local Host: Social Planning Council of Ottawa/Conseil de planification sociale d'Ottawa
Conference Room, Sandy Hill Community Health Centre, Ottawa

Niagara Region

Monday, January 22
Local Host: Niagara Social Assistance Reform Network, St. Catharines
Royal Canadian Legion Branch #24, St. Catharines

E-3: AUTHORS OF WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS

Section A – Submissions from Canada (Individuals)
Section B – Submissions from Canada (Organizations)
Section C – Submissions from Outside Canada (Individuals & Organizations)

Section A – Submissions from Canada (Individuals)

Total Submissions = 963
Author (Submission Number)

ONTARIO

A

Abas, Jacob (1518)
Abbott, Carmetta (2130)
Adams, John (1805)
Adams, Tom (1058)
Adshade, Shannon (1967)
Agocs, Carol (1838)
Agrell, Tina (1847)
Ahmed, Azhar (1361)
Alb, Sorin (1478)
Alexander, Eleanor (1674)
Ali, Syed Ghazanfar (1210)
Al-Zaidi, Sayyid-Ali (1522)
Amenta, Sal (1278)
Anderson, Doris (1718)
Anderson, Ralph (1002, 1003, 1004, 1229, 1435, 1450, 1650, 2141)
Anderson, Ronald (1286)
Anderson, Roy (1299)
Andrews, Ross (1330)
Anger Sheffield, MaryBeth (1006)
Angolano, Joseph (1730)
Annejohn, Nicholas (1252)
Antonsen, Frank (2132)
Arenas, Mauricio (1647)
Armatys, Krys (1837)
Arnold, Doris (1872)
Arnott, Gordon (1444)
Arntz-Gray, Jules (1319)
Arsenault, Melanie (1667)
Ashton, Harry (1288)
Ashton, Peter (1371)
Aubin, Duane (1551)
Auld, Carol (2116)
Anonymous (1202)
Anonymous (1203)

B

Babcock, John (1998)
Bagin, Cyril (1736)
Bailey, John (1597)
Bainbridge, David (1199)
Bakhsh, Farooq (1392)
Balakrishnan, Janaki (1515, 1638, 1640, 1641)
Balanloff, Don (1792)
Ball, Gordon (1134)
Ball, Trevor (1085, 1980)
Barber, Ian (2012)
Bardon, Chris (1677)
Barker, Nicole (1528)
Barlow, Henry (1887)
Barnes, John (1521)
Barnett, Robert (1742)
Baron, Barbara (1283, 1570)
Barrand, Tony (1417)
Barrett, Joyce (1879)
Barrette-Flint, Judy (1324)
Batchelor, Dahn (1386)
Bateman, Greg (1393)
Bath, Duncan (1133)
Battler, Anna (1963)
Baveja, Salman (1676)
Beaton, Wallace (1995)
Beattie, Kingsley (1563)
Beauchamp, Gregoire (1364)
Beckmann-Nixon, Carol (1680)
Bedek, Frank (1846)
Bednarski, Michael (1068, 1179)
Begin, Doug (1834)
Bell, Ken (1487)
Benjamin, Thomas (1322)
Bergez, John (1112)
Bester, Greg (1458)
Bharati, Rajat (1276)
Bilaniuk, Michael (1290)

Bishop, Gina (1923)
Blythe, Michael (1865)
Bobka, Judy (1778)
Boerke, Ralph (1314)
Bonney, Anthony (1055)
Boragina, Nick (1011)
Borg, Betty (1125)
Borowski, Sophia (1853)
Bottcher, Saul (1859)
Bottero, Kevin (2004)
Bowman, Sabrina (1796)
Bowron, Beate (1267)
Boxen, Gloria (1377)
Boyd, Terry (1080)
Bozickovic, Goran (1741)
Brabender, R. Andrew (1413)
Bradamore, Bradley (1854)
Bradshaw, Chris (1831)
Brandis, W. (1845)
Braun-Jackson, Jeff (1114)
Brawley, Steve (1511)
Bredin, Chad (1489)
Bredin, James (2053)
Brekke, David (1590, 1591, 1592)
Brender à Brandis, Marianne (1250)
Brenner, Konrad (1315)
Bressan, Domenic (1351)
Brigaldino, Glenn (1336)
Broen, Thomas (1740)
Bromilow, James (2133)
Brooke, Stephen (1410)
Broughton, Peter (1566)
Brown, Gilbert (1200)
Brunt, Tom (1958)
Buchkowski, Alan (1128)
Buck, Ralph (1795)
Budd, Bruce (1968)
Bunbury, Myles (1211)
Burton, Chris (1427)
Bush, Mike (1803)

C

Calvert, Brian (1332)
Calvert, John (1649)
Campbell, Don (1428)
Campbell, Keith (1215)
Campbell, Ken (1876)
Campbell, Peter (2011)
Capone, Phil (1960)
Carruth, R.J. (1261)
Carruthers, Nicholas (1475)
Carter, Mark (1140)
Cassidy, Michael (1941)
Cawston, William (1306)
Chaffey, Robert (1476)
Chaloner, Norah (1701)
Chantler, Gareth (1733)
Cheney, Terry (1972)
Chesney, Jeff (1237)
Childs, Judy (1153)
Chomik, Paul (1874)
Chor, Andre (1167)
Choudhry, Sujit (2024)
Christie, Robert (1979)
Chung, Kate (2033)
Churley, Marilyn (1725)
Cidade, Victor (1041)
Clark, Arnon (1550)
Clarke, Ashron (2085)
Clarke, C. (2129)
Clarke, Cam (2060)
Clayton, Margaret (1870)
Collacutt, David (1715)
Collins, Robert (1297)
Colton, Kimberley (1780)
Conger, Emily (1969)
Conn, Charles (1782)
Conover, Keith (1790)
Conroy, Shawn P. (1423)
Cooke, Bob (1151)
Cooke, Murray (1814)
Cooke, Steven (1451)
Corrigan, Alan (1379)
Costello, Dan (1309)
Cowan, Don (1262)
Cox, David (1037)
Cox, Karen (2142)
Craigie, Dr. Kenneth R. (1424)
Crawford, Allen (1704)
Crews, Marla (1584)
Crompton, Greg (1169)
Cronk, Sheryl (1390)
Crosby, Don (1648)
Cunningham, Ian (1655)
Cusiter, Robert (1164)
Cutmore, Jackie (1456)
Cuyler, Richard (2148)

D

Dale, Gary (2082, 2144)
Dalton, Jennifer (1635)
D'Aoust, Jean-Marc (2055)
Darby, Charm (1594)
Daulby, Frank (1389)
Davidson, Blair (1294)
Davies, Wayne (1894)
Davis, Alan (1971)
Davis, Eric (1311)

Day, Jean (2076)
Day, Wilfred (1249)
de Blois, Pierre (2051)
De Swert, Guy (1398, 1731)
Deans, James (1833)
Decandole, James (1464)
Dedman, Jack (1935)
Deith, Jamie (1794)
Dekker, Nina (1673)
Dekker, Paul (1008)
DeMarco, Anthony (1411)
Denis, Jeff (1168)
Deverell, Frances (1372)
DeVita, Adam (1139)
DeVries, William (1705)
Dewees, David (2043)
DiBenedetto, Leonardo (1616)
Dillman, Donna (1453)
Dillon, George (1956)
Dobson, Hugh (1205)
Doig, David (1664)
Doner, Murray (1653)
Doody, Brian M. (1087)
Dosanjh, Ranpal (1060)
Doucet, Clive (1561)
Downey, Terry (1932)
Drainie, Michael (1916)
Dranoff, Linda Silver (1819)
Draper, Patrick (1146)
Duncan, Gary (1072)
Duncan, Harold (1333)
Dunlop, Mary (1615)
Dunn, J. D. (1907)
Dunne, Alan (1191)
Dzoutzidis, Wally (1040)

E

Eckert, Jim (2001)
Eden, Karl (1709)
Edey, David (1376)
Elder, Jim (1719)
Elliott, William (1385)
Ellis, Tony (1826)
Ellison, Thomas D. (1463)
Emery, Des (1302)
Emery, Winston (1352)
Esposito, John (1415)
Evans, Christopher (1842)
Ewing, Don (1899, 1959)

F

Farnell, Cam (1947)
Farrell, Matt (1469)
Fast, Stewart (1512)
Ferguson, Robert (1256)
Ferreira, Abel (1357)
Ficner, Charles (1365, 1712)
Fieguth, Paul (1675)
Field, Margaret (1113)
Field, Suzanne (1238)
Filteau, Paul (1863)
Findlay, Robert (1679)
Finnan, Mark (1185)
Fitzsimmons, Jay (1706)
Fluri, Dave (1334)
Fobel, Ryan (1996)
Fok, Timothy (1727)
Foote, Joel (1335)
Forester, Sandy (1416)
Fortier, Marc (1391)
Foster, Joe (1281)
Foulkes, David (1864)
Fourie, Willem (2020)
Fournier, Jason (1342)
Fox, Karen (1103)
Fox, Maria (1049)
Frank, Peter (1696)
Fraser, Bruce (1549)
Fraser, Janet (1044)
French, William R. (1219)
Frey, Ivan (1303)
Friedli, Hannes (1801)
Fuller, Patrick (1404)

G

Gaage, Stanley (1938)
Gale, Robert (1339, 1430)
Ganoosh, Baba (1692)
Gapka, Susan (1889)
Garrison, Tom (1905)
Gascon, Sheri (1034)
Gassien, Luke (2061)
Gaunt, Murray (1807)
Gaviller, Marg (1964)
Geddes, Maureen (1662)
Gehrels, Marien (1406)
Gentile, Ralph (1768)
Geobey, Sean (1039)
German, Kiloran (1830)
Gervais, Jerry (1265)
Ghatreh-Samani, Azin (1375)
Ghomeshi, Hooman (1710)
Gillard, Kendra (1320)
Gilmore, Ed (2072)
Gingras, Dan (2074)
Ginsberg, Aaron (1502)
Girard, Gerald (1634)

Glanville-Brown, Richard (1902)
Goerzen, Lawrence (1419)
Goetz, David (1776)
Gold, Catherine (1366)
Goss, Andrew (1097)
Graff, Brian (1668)
Graham, David (1691)
Graham, Kenneth (1461)
Grainger, Mary Ann (1264)
Grant, Eleanor (1433)
Gravina, Nancy (1619)
Gray, Michael (1240)
Greanya, Daniel (1799)
Greenfield, Robert (1016)
Gregory, Allan (1441, 1588)
Grier, Terry (1503)
Griffiths, Ronald (1214)
Guetta, Arnold (1492)
Gullon, Al (1999)
Gunn, Vicki (1176)
Gventer, Karen (1348)
Gventer, Matthew (1770)

H

Hall, Alan (1432, 1577)
Hall, B. Thomas (1883)
Hall, Pat (1271)
Hallatt, Larry (1520)
Halsall, Michael (1257)
Halstead, Bob (1295)
Hamilton, John Delbert (1917)
Hamilton, Sherry (1713)
Hammond, Arthur (1220)
Hammond, Jason (1388)
Haq, Shah Ehsan ul (1325)
Hardman, Larry (1912)
Harman, Colette (1529)
Harmatare, Rein (1636)
Harris, Kenneth (1106)
Harrison, Dale (1915)
Haworth, Ruth (1928)
Hawthorn, Margaret (1562)
Hedrich, Glenn (2092)
Helferty, Natalie (1749)
Hendelman, Walter (1459)
Henderson, Ken (1337)
Hendrickson, Bernard (1852)
Henry, Bruce (1154)
Henry, William (1765)
Henschel, Mark (1866, 2049)
Herring, Barbara (1654)
Hertel, Paul (2109)
Hetherton, Rita (1480)
Heynen, Jan (1254)
Hilkers, Robert (1771)
Hill, Matthew (1637)
Hillman, John (1233)
Hitchcock, David (2013)
Hodgins, Carol and Bruce (1163)
Hoepfner-Homme, Paul (1930)
Hoff, Brishen (1437)
Hooker, Charles (1565)
Hopkins, Brian (1501)
Hopkins, Scott (2126)
Horbas, Constance (1408)
Horwood, Robert (1764)
Howard, Dan (2005)
Howatt, Rob (1777)
Hrynyshyn, Derek (1507)
Huapaya, Luis (1564)
Hughes, Jeremy (1890)
Hulet, Bill (1241)
Hull, Douglas (1429)
Hun, Zork (1603)
Hunter, Joshua (1195)
Hussain, Aamir (1272)
Hyde, Glen (1927)
Hyer, Bruce (1126)

I

Iwanchyshyn, George (1247)
Izirein, Ohi (1105)
Izma, Steve (1646)

J

Jacobs, David (1808, 1867)
Jacobs, Marie (1143)
Jacobson, Sheila (1747)
James, Dennis (2027)
Januczkowski, David (2112)
Jehan, Andrew (1228, 1296)
Jenney, Hugh and Claire (1939)
Johnson, Carolyn (1820, 1821)
Johnson, Ken (1526)
Johnston, Jom (1828)
Johnston, Stephana (1703)
Jolly, Stan (1942, 1994)
Jorgenson, Paul (1012)

K

Kabitsis, Dimitus (1871)
Kainer, Tara (1378)
Kamalanathan, Dashen (1051)
Karpinski, Wieslaw (1754)
Keczan, Les and Judy (1621)
Keeka, Gaev (1976)
Keelan-Bishop, Marc (1075)
Keller, Wes (1962)

Kelly, Gordon (1403)
Kelso, Brent (1732)
Kent, Tom (1443)
Kepran, Heather (1811)
Kerman, Bryan (1045, 1100, 1101, 1111, 1136, 1477)
Kerr, Gregory (1539)
Ketelaars, Henk (1305)
Kevany, Kathleen (1527)
Kidd, Brandon (1630, 1631)
Kilburn, Jack (1409)
Killens, Larry (1023)
Kimmel, Sheila (1050)
King, Dan (1862)
Kirby-McIntosh, Laura (1282)
Kirkpatrick, George (1510)
Kiss, John (1623)
Kitching, Katherine (1815)
Kite, Fred (1878)
Kitz, Timothy (1171)
Kivipelto, Lois (1496)
Kizoff, Peter (1611)
Klomp, Chris (1054)
Knight, David (1499)
Knittl, Margaret (1937)
Kobayashi, Marc (1535)
Kohlhaas, Alidë (1643)
Korchuk, Stan (1851)
Koyzis, David (1672)
Kraan, Derek (1363)
Kropf, Jamie (1543)
Kyba, Patrick (2069)

L

Lamontagne, André (1665)
Land, Chris (1043, 1109)
Landau, Reva (1412, 1445)
Langill, Earl (1493)
Lanteigne, Robert (1212)
Larocque, Bob (1781)
Lastman, Howard (1758, 1759, 1760, 2008, 2010, 2145, 2146, 2147)
Latrémouille, Claude (2026)
Laverance, Andrew (1633)
Lawrence, Neil (1739)
Lawson, Patricia (2125)
Lawson, Tom (1900)
Lax, Jessica (1763)
LaZerte, Bruce (1346)
LeDuc, Lawrence (1137)
Lefebvre, Martin (1147)
Legg, E. J. (1150)
Lehtimaki, Kal (1774)
Leone, Rob (2003)
Levin, Sanford (1340)
Lewis, Paul (2137)
Lewkowicz, Paul (1973)
Li, Barn-Yen (1538)
Liss, John (1613)
Lomath, Peter (1481)
Long, Cindy (1253, 2117)
Lorenz, Kevin (1078)
Lorenz, Raymond (1017, 1231, 1494, 2039, 2088)
Lori, Waller (1745)
Loughnan, John (1825)
Loughnan, John (1898)
Lowrie, Audrey (1541)
Luis, Armando (1720)
Lunman, John (1447)
Lynch, James (1414)

M

Macciocchi, Paul (1836)
MacDonald, Glen (1921)
MacDonald, June (1602, 2007)
MacFarlane, Jennifer (1729)
MacKay, Ken (1970)
MacKay, Sandra (1735)
MacLean, Rod (1855)
MacLeod, Alistair (1793)
Macmillan, Ian (1600, 1988)
Macy, Richard (1327)
Magda, David (1919)
Mahoney, Grant (1019)
Mailer, Daniel (1223)
Manley, Gayle (1088)
Mann, David Ross (1353)
Mantha, Hubert (1500)
Marathe, Eknath (1695)
Marchand, Ray (1517)
Marissen, John (1248)
Marshall, Bob (1399)
Marshall, Harry (1280)
Marshall, Peter (1775)
Martelock, Duncan (1246)
Martin, Kathryn (1614)
Martin, Marylea (2059)
Martin, Nichola (1142)
Martin, Tony (1079)
Masse, Jamie (1473, 2102)
Massey, Sharon (2002)
Mathew, David (1686)
Matovic, Darko (1557)
Mavromichalis, Carl (1516)
Mayberry, Tom (1291)
Mayerovitch, David (1684)

Mayor, Connie (1813)
Mazzotta, Patrick (1422)
McCallum, Meg (1722)
McCammon, Andrew (1965)
McCann, Maureen (1868)
McCormick, Shirley (1574)
McCracken, Ronald (1025)
McCraken, Cass (1244)
McCraken, Ronald (1931)
McDiarmid, Garnet (2098)
McDonald, Robert Burns (1678)
McElroy, Ross (1292)
McGran, Tony (1064)
McGreal, Ryan (1063)
McKeil, Malcolm (2110)
McKenna, Tim (1593)
McKeown, Allan (1479)
McKercher, Ian (1350)
McKever, James (1129)
McLaren, Jason (1934)
McLaren, Margaret (1488)
McLeish, Bill (1767)
McMaster, D. (1624)
McMaster, Don (1369)
McMurchy, Monte (1127)
McNicoll, David (1769)
McOrmond, Russell (1509)
McQuail, Rachel (1849)
McQuail, Tony (1519)
McQueen, Rob (1861)
Mehdizadeh, Saman (1524)
Mendelsohn, Jenny (1525)
Mewhort, June (1657)
Meyer, Henry (1349)
Mian, Ameer Ali (1343)
Middleton, James (1144)
Millar, Tom (1579)
Millar, Robert (2149)
Miller, Adam (1644)
Miller, John (1310)
Mills, Chris (1118)
Mitchell, Barry (1798)
Moisse, Jim (1347)
Molto, Joseph (1452)
Monib, Leila (1762)
Moran, John (1940)
Morehouse, Glen (1308)
Morrell, Gerald (2032)
Moscardelli, Anna (2029)
Mosoff, Fern (1850)
Moss, David (1099)
Moul, Jacques (1573)
Mowbray, George (1881)
Moya, Louisa (1607)
Mrkich, Astrid (1716)
Mueller, Laura (1354)
Muething, Joe (1659)
Mumford, Chris (1975)
Mundy, Joe (1436)
Murray, Janice (1599)
Mussche, Shane (1173)
Myers, Brendan (1555)

N

Nabigon-Howlett, Sheila (1370)
Nagy, Mike (1568)
Nassar, R. (1321)
Neal, John (1751)
Neilson, Sarah (2042)
Newhouse, Jack (1089)
Ngai, Victor (1914)
Nichols, Jeffery (2120)
Nickerson, Mike (1950)
Nijjar, Paul (1734)
Nikolic, Slobodan (1823)
Northey, John (1021)
Nota, Bruna (1683)
Nowaczek, Agnes (2054)
Nurnberg, Gertrud (1491)

O

O'Brien, Catherine (1255)
O'Connor, Charlene (1192)
O'Connor, Darwin (1504)
O'Hara, Frank (1405)
Ong, Kevin (1186)
Opperman, Norman (1225)
Orandi, Mike (1952)
Orsten, Elisabeth M. (1658)
Osepchook, Claire (1165)
O'Sullivan, Sharon (1074)
Ott, Leslie (1490)
Otto, Brian (1556)
Owen, Alec (2079)

P

Page, Jeannie (1397)
Paglia, Anthony (2031)
Paquette, Robert (1957)
Parkinson, Graham (1951)
Parsons, George (1629)
Passaperuma, K. (1468)
Patterson, Jack (1010)
Peck, Kevin (1484)
Pelletier, Marie-Lyne (1726)
Pemberton, Norm (1345)
Penney, Devan (1170)
Perot, Jean François (1152)

Peters, Elaine (1384)
Phillips, Alan (1235)
Piccinato, Marc (2009)
Pickett, William (1418)
Pickios, Greg (1277)
Pinto, Andrew (1567)
Plummer, Sheldon (1232)
Polanyi, Michael (1497)
Polito, Joseph (1485)
Pont, Margaret (1420)
Porter, Stephen (2063)
Post, Christine (1380)
Potter, David (1084)
Potter, David (1448, 1589)
Poulos, John (1548)
Power, Steven (1091, 1194, 1438)
Prashaw, Rick (1258)
Preville, Dyana (1891)
Prévost, Jean-Paul (1356)
Prieur, Allison (2104)
Prindiville, Jill (1824)
Proulx, Richard (1355)
Pruesse, Nina (1279)
Przychodzki, Anna (1977, 1981)
Purcell, Michael (1985)
Purchase, David (1141, 1598)
Purdie, Jim (1698)
Purdie, Jim (1884)

Q

Quarta, Luisa (1993)

R

Rabinovitch, Ira (1029)
Rae, Matthew (1728)
Raftis, Luke (1284)
Ralph, Anderson (1374)
Ramsay, David (1982)
Ramsey, Doug (2045)
Rancourt, Denis (1660)
Randall, Darryl (1773)
Randall, W. Peter (1571)
Ransom, Judith (1752)
Rawls, Don (1038, 2046)
Ray, Helen (1690)
Reed, Steven (1455)
Reich, Mark (1829)
Reid, Donna (1587)
Reid, Dylan (1482)
Reimer, Boyd (1263)
Reiser, Lori (1318)
Rengers, Ellen (1626)
Renwick, Angela (1162)
Rice, Lee (1431)
Rice, Roberta (1014)
Richardson, Gregory (1242)
Richardson, Michael (1723)
Riley, Helen (1275, 1472)
Rimmington, Todd (1552)
Ritch, Janet (1711)
Rivier, Marlene (1991)
Roberts, Joan M. (1661)
Roberts, William (1534)
Robertson, Andrew (1400)
Robertson, Cai (1699)
Robertson, John (1689)
Robertson, Michael (1924)
Robertson, Neil (1858)
Rodbourne, Robert (1652)
Roderick, Graeme (1531)
Roderick, Greg (1750)
Rolland, Paul (1533)
Ronson, Jim (1882)
Rootham, Jim (1702)
Rosenburg, Michael (2034)
Rossi, Dominic (1358)
Rourke, Tim (1067, 1236, 1608)
Royce, Stephen (1341, 1586)
Rully, Robert (1532)
Rybicki, Magdalena (2093)
Rylski, Devon (1312)

S

Sadooghi, Maliknaz (2150)
Sallmen, Herman (1886)
Sampson-Coburn, Ben (2006)
Santiago, Francis (1251)
Saumur, Lucien (1001, 1028, 1042, 1145, 1182, 1426)
Savlov, Lawrence (1841)
Sax, Herschell (1583)
Scheuneman, Eric (1359)
Schneider, Adam (1467)
Schreiter, Tom (2056)
Schulz, Andrew (1206)
Scoffield, William (1746)
Scott, Duff (1545)
Scott, Munroe (1708)
Seales, Robert (1135)
Seiler, Lisa (1744)
Shackleton, Brian (1856)
Shaikh, Bashir (1077)
Shakhmundes, Lev (1627)
Sham, Japhanie (2035)
Sharp, Jacqueline (1117, 1755)
Shaw, David T. (1104, 1289, 1304, 1578)
Shchybyvolok, Serhiy (2083)

Sheard, Susan (1027)
Sheikh, Masud (1606)
Sheppard, Brian (1307)
Sheppard, Linda (1895)
Shore, William (1761)
Sibal, Pradeep (1172)
Sibley, Wendy (1576)
Sills, David (1694)
Silva, Luis (1804)
Silver, Irving (1530)
Simons, Brendan (1066)
Simpson, Joe (1316)
Simser, Scott (1943)
Sinclair, Robyn (1857)
Singh, Mark (1183)
Slavij, Alan (1671)
Slepkov, Bernie (1086)
Smith, Ken (1269)
Smith, Kevin (1558)
Smith, Peter (1362)
Smith, Sharon (1313)
Smith, Trevor (1273)
Smith, Wayne (1466)
Smokorowski, Larry (1382)
Snare, Helen (1506)
Sollows, Tina (1582)
Sonke, Dan (1471)
Speirs, Rosemary (1367)
Spice, Joan (2016)
Spiegel, Harry (1945)
Sprenger, Henry (1259)
Sproule, Don (1918)
Spurway, Matthew (1285)
Stabler, Ron (1779)
Stadnik, Elicia (1835)
Stairs, Felicite (1989)
Stapleton, John (1070)
Steeper, Julie (1766)
Stephens, Robert (1157)
Stickney, Paul (1628)
Stillich, John (1026)
Stinson, David (1908)
Stinson, David J. (2086)
Stolte, Juanita (1896)
Surry, David (1116)
Suurmond, Jan (1544)
Sweet, Frank (1877)
Swerdfeger, Howard (1052, 1682)
Sydor-Estable, Nikola (1287)
Sykes, Stuart (2047)
Syrett, Elizabeth (1096)
Szakacs, Jason (1460)
Szucs, Sandor (1523)

T

T., Christopher (2015)
Tafel, Richard (1061)
Tallas, Sonia (1681)
Tamblyn, Laura (1913)
Tanner, Chris (1396)
Tarasoff, Lev (1936)
Tardif, Claude (1470)
Taylor, George W. (1373)
Teevan, Jan (1625)
Teichroeb, Andrew (1095)
Tekatch, Cathy (1929)
Terryberry, Laura (1560)
Theijsmeijer, Arik (1387)
Thomas, David (1462)
Thompson, Brian (1840)
Thomsen, Andy (1961)
Thorburn, Hugh (1326)
Thornton, Benjamin (2028)
Thorpe, Derek (1542)
Toderick, Dave (1293)
Toh, K.T. (2077)
Tomlinson, Diana (1966)
Topping, Paul (1298)
Traversy, Raymond (1926, 1933)
Tuori, Martin (1707)
Turcotte, Dorothy (1331)
Turner, Meikle (1620)

U

Ufford, Michael (1270)

V

Vamvalis, Maria (1260)
Van Dusen, Sheila (2111)
Van Iterson, Andrew (1800)
Van Oostdam, Jay (1663)
van Tol, Peter (1697)
Vandenberg, George (1925)
Vanscoy, Francis (1605)
Veale, D.G. (1130)
Vezina, Greg (2071)
Villamil, Bernie (1797)
Villeneuve, Yves (1007, 1013, 1015, 1020, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1035, 1081, 1581, 2105, 2106)
Vincent, Nalia (1906)
Virjee, Maria (1329)
Vise, Joseph (1401)
Vogel, Peter (1148)
Volkes, Gregory (1645)
Von Mirbach, Alfred (1421)

W

Walke, Gregory (1688)
Walker, Hank (1748)
Walker, John (1536, 2135)
Wallace, James (1266)
Wallace, Kim (1990)
Warhurst, Michael (1465)
Watson, Colin (1909)
Watson, Eric (2131)
Wedow, Larry (1595)
Weil, David (1610)
Weiss, George (1772)
Wennekers, Eileen (1018, 1124)
Werner, Thomas (1575)
West, Greg (1806)
Westcott, Joan (2128)
Wey, Guenter (1622)
White, Clare (1700)
White, Graham (1301)
White, Ron (1786)
Whiteley, Hugh (1885)
Whiteley, Hugh (2014)
Wigglesworth, Dan (1839)
Wilbur, Greg (1724)
Wilkinson, Harry (1785)
Williams, Athele (1360)
Williams, Brian (1875)
Williamson, Diane (1604)
Williamson, Kathleen (1685)
Williamson, Rod (1047, 1554)
Wilson, Paul (1721)
Wilson, Ross (1714)
Wirsig, Claus (1402)
Wishart, David (2070)
Wisniewski, Mike (1245)
Wodlinger, Sareh (1737)
Wong, Dominic (1572)
Wood, David (1156)
Wood, Denis (1083)
Wood, John (1822)
Wood, Philip J. (1816)
Wood, Tom (1486)
Woodard, Douglas (1098, 1757, 1784, 1827, 2138)
Woodgold, Catherine (1268, 1984)

Y

Yaraskavitch, Jim (1440, 1449)
Yaraskavitch, Ron (1617, 1618)
Yee, Scott (1071)
Yenssen, Angela (1753)
Yeo, Douglas (2022)
Yeung, Sonny (1986)
Young, Chris (1046)
Young, Gilbert (1888)
Young, Michael (1513)
Young, Richard (1553)
Young, Tracey (1946, 1955, 2041)
Yundt, Eldon (1239, 1446)

Z

Zanyk, Joseph (1474)
Zeijlmaker, Albert (1596)
Zhang, Jason (1328)
Zimmer, Trevor (1407)

ALBERTA

Parker, David (1243, 1498)

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Bergerud, Wendy (1022, 1158)
Dignard, Rick (1110)
Divine, Michael (1901, 2019, 2151)
Frank, Andrew (1997)
Fugger, Ryan (1717)
George, Paul (1687)
Giza, Raymond (1056, 1639)
Heim, Daniel (2094)
Henschel, Craig (1983, 2136)
Huntley, David (1204, 1226)
Jewell, P. Jeffery (1670)
Krayenhoff, Willem Bruce (1368)
Loenen, Nick (1094)
MacDonald, Jack (1317)
Nyen, Harley (1609)
Ronback, James (1159)
White, Brian (1323)

MANITOBA

Hiebert, Eduard (2000)
Taliesin, Karl (1193)
Warren, Andrew (1669)
Yee, Ka-Ping (1974, 1987, 2025)

NUNAVUT

Magwood, Gary (1817)

QUEBEC

Litvak, David (1832)

Section B – Submissions from Canada (Organizations)

Total Submissions = 58
Author (Submission Number)

ORGANIZATIONS

Alliance for Equality of Blind Canadians (John Rae) (1132)
Arab Canadian Civil Liberties Association (James Kafieh) (1053)
Assemblée de la francophonie de l'Ontario (1848)
Association des juristes d'expression française de l'Ontario (AJEFO) (1910)
Caledon Seniors Council (Sandy Forester) (1569)
Canadian Hearing Society (1892)
Canadian Muslim Union (1177)
Carleton University Fair Vote Club (Andy Blair) (1434)
Catalan House of Toronto (José L. Perez de Arce) (1632)
CAW Local 876 (Jim Marshall) (1234)
Citizens for Public Justice (Bruce Voogd) (1787)
Communification Co-op (Paul Zulauf) (1178)
Communist Party of Canada (2021)
Council of Orthodox Rabbis of Toronto – Vaad HaRabbonnim of Toronto (Rabbi Dovid Schochet) (1559)
Conseil scolaire de district catholique de l'Est ontarien (Martial Levac) (1869)
CTESS.ca (Christopher Twardawa) (1756)
Democracy NOW (DNOW) (1911)
Demochoice BC (Antony Hodgson) (1810, 1920, 1922, 1949, 1954)
DemocraticSPACE (Gregory D. Morrow) (1122, 1138, 1218, 1546, 2123)
Durham Region Labour Council (Jim Freeman) (1036)
Elementary Teachers Federation of Ontario (ETFO) – Halton Local (Maureen Weinberger) (1439)
Equal Voice (1505)
Equichoice (Harvey Tenenbaum) (1274)
Fair Vote Canada
– Halton Chapter (Bronwen Bruch) (1743)
– National Capital Region Chapter (Peter Black) (1030)
– National Capital Region Chapter (John Trent) (1425)
– Stormont, Dundas, Glengarry, Grenville Chapter (Elaine Kennedy) (1338)
Fair Vote Ontario (Joe Murray) (1383)

Family Coalition Party of Ontario (2068)
Federation of Urban Neighbourhoods of Ontario (William Phillips) (1381)
Greater Uxbridge Citizens' Group (Anne Holmes) (1508)
Green Party of Canada (Chris Tindal) (1844)
Green Party of Canada – Don Valley East (Wayne Clements) (1992)
Green Party of Ontario (Darren Redfern) (1612)
Huron Bruce NDP Riding Association (Wilhelmina Laurie) (1395)
Italiani Oltreoceano (2134)
Mad River Institute for Political Studies (1893)
Oakville & District Labour Council (Linda Jones) (1903)
Ontario Association of the Deaf (1944)
Ontario Coalition for Social Justice (2023)
Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU) (1802)
Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) (2152)
Ontario Students' Assembly on Electoral Reform (2127)
Queen's New Democrats (Chris Horkins) (1394)
Rogers Communications Inc. (John Armstrong) (2073)
St. Christopher House (1791)
Toronto Board of Rabbis (2124)
Toronto First Unitarian Congregation (Margaret Rao) (1953)
VoicePrint Canada (Arlene Patterson) (1809)
Women of Halton Action Movement (WHAM) (Bev LeFrançois) (1783)

Section C – Submissions from Outside Canada (Individuals & Organizations)

Total Submissions = 15
Author (Submission Number)

AUSTRALIA

Proportional Representation Society of Australia (Bogey Musidlak) (1812)

GERMANY

Schulze, Markus (1005, 1065)

NEW ZEALAND

Kelly, Graham (1059)

UNITED KINGDOM

Fairshare Voting Reform (James Gilmour) (1788, 1789)
Gamble, David (1230)
Lundberg, Thomas (1300)
Lung, Richard (1207)
Electoral Reform Society (Ken Ritchie) (1948)
Turton, Griffin (1738)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Center for Collaborative Democracy (Sol Erdman) (1184)
Fobes, Richard (1580)
Harman, R.M. Auros (2038)
Robinson, Dave (2044)

Total Submissions

Submissions from Canada (Individuals)	963
Submissions from Canada (Organizations)	58
Submissions from Outside Canada (Individuals & Organizations)	15
Total Submissions	1036

E-4: REGISTERED PRESENTERS

List of registered presenters at the public consultation meetings held throughout the province from November 20, 2006 to January 25, 2007

Barrie: December 7, 2006

Burstyn, Peter
Crawford, Douglas
Jacoby-Hawkins, Erich
Wallace, James

Belleville: January 15, 2007

Arnott, Gordon
Buckley, Dennis
Desjardins, Louis
Emery, Winston
Evans, Jack
Hanson, Andy
Lawson, Tom
Mulloy, Molly
Tunney, James
Vise, Joseph

Bracebridge: January18, 2007

Elliot, Peter
Hall, Sara
O'Callaghan, Carly
Purchase, David
Rainey, Caitlyn
Smith, Douglas

Brampton: November 20, 2006

Bygrave, Allen
Murray, Joe
Redfern, Darren

Burlington: January 18, 2007

Ballentine, Ron
Barber, Ian
Borst, Chris
Eden, Karl
Griffin, Dan
Jones, Linda
Mone, Jacob
Weinberger, Maureen

Chatham: January 24, 2007

Kevany, Kathleen
Thompson, Brian

Cornwall (bilingual): January 15, 2007

Beards, Doug
Bergeron, Ronald
Ferreira, Abel
Kennedy, Elaine
Konlup, Norman
Lynch, Brian

Dryden: November 27, 2006

Johnson, Josh

Etobicoke: January 23, 2007

Cartwright, John
Chalmers, Deborah
Conn, Charles
Denning, William
Deverell, John

Fogarty, David
Grier, Terry
Hammond, Sam
Murray, Janice
Polito, Joseph
Rapaport, David
Shue, Karen

Guelph: January 20, 2007

Adshade, Shannon
Ewing, Don
Foster, Matthew
Gori, Giusepe
Hall, Alan
Hardman, Larry
Hulet, Bill
Leone, Rob
O Reilly, Sheila

Hamilton: December 6, 2006

Braun-Jackson, Jeff
Cranbury, Andrew
Field, Margaret
Gerstenberger, Rolf
Hunter, Lawson
Kerman, Bryan
Reid, Martin
Shaw, David T.
Smith, Wayne

Kenora: January 23, 2007

Hiebert, Eduard
Warren, Andrew

Kingston: January16, 2007

Blais, Aline
Giesbrecht, Jared
Gventer, Matthew
Harwood, Robert
Horkins, Chris
Kainer, Tara
Kent, Tom
Macleod, Alistair
Matovic, Darko
Rubin, Max
Walton, Eric
Wells, Deb
Willard, Sandra
Wilson, Gary

Kitchener-Waterloo: January 10, 2007

Davis, Eric
Fairman, Richard
Geobey, Sean
Giordano, Anthony
Higgins, Darcy
Jeffrey, Liss
Kraan, Derek
Kropf, Jamie
McQuail, Tony
Nijjar, Paul
Telegdi, Andrew
White, Gareth
Yenssen, Angela

London: January 9, 2007

Brown, Gary
Cressman, Chantelle
Devries, Ken

Doody, Brian
Hoff, Margaret
Jarabek, Monica
Johnston, Jim
Korchuk, Stan
Lewis, Shawn
Mailer, Dan
Walsh, John
Yundt, Eldon

Markham: December 4, 2006

Bednarski, Michael
Stapleton, John

Mississauga: November 21, 2006

Dosanjh, Ranpaul
Kabitsis, Dimitrios
Kalevar, Chaitanya
Rice, Roberta
Stillich, John

Niagara Falls (bilingual): January 22, 2007

Badger, Steven
Beckmann-Nixon, Carol
Cruickshank, John
Grunstein, Mel
O'Donnell, Justin
Villamil, Bernie

North Bay: November 28, 2006

Lawrence, Neil
Rennie, Gordan

Oakville: November 22, 2006

Adams, Tom
Agrell, Tina
Bolton, Scott
Bruch, Bronwen
Hawkins, Philip
Luetke, Michael
MacKay, Sandra
Syrett, Elizabeth
Wennekers, Eileen

Orangeville: December 6, 2006

Ellis, Peter
Martin, Nichola
Procter, Richard
Simeon, Robert
Whiteley, Hugh

Oshawa: November 21, 2006

Anderson, Doug
Asidianya, Chudi
Daw, Geoff
Freeman, Jim
Larose, Paul-Andre
McKeever, Cathrine
Wall, Thomas

Ottawa (bilingual): January 11, 2007

Biocchi, Dan
Bishop, Gina
Carrier-Fraser, Mariette
Ficner, Charles
Laxton, Gregory
Tansey, Brian
Woodgold, Catherine
Yaraskavitch, Jim

Ottawa (bilingual): January 16, 2007

Anderson, Ralph
Ashton, Peter
Beattie, Kingsley
Bradshaw, Chris
Fitzsimmons, Jay
Ford, John
Foster Woollatt, Nicole
Marsden-Dole, Patricia
McNicoll, David
Page, Jeannie
Silver, Irving
Stevenson, Bob
Swerdfeger, Howard
Trent, John

Owen Sound: December 4, 2006

Breadner, Dave
Brown, Greg
Cockburn, Perry
Cook, Bill
Goss, Andrew
Hall, Joyce
Kingshott, Jason
Stewart, Andrew
Stock, Richard

Perth: January 17, 2007

Baranyi, John
Blair, Andy
Doucett, Diana
Gregory, Allan
Ronson, Jim
Saumur, Lucien
Spice, Joan

Peterborough: December 5, 2006

Birket, Fred
Borg, Betty
Buchkowski, Alan
Corbett, Victoria
Day, Wilfred
Finnan, Mark
Geale, John
Lawson, Tom
Matthews, Al
McKever, James
Nelson, Christopher
Nickle, Dave
Parkes, Joel
Scott, Munroe

Sarnia: January 10, 2007

Banninga, Ed
Beauchamp, Gregoire
Howlett, Glenn
Smith, Peter
Zanyk, Joe

Sault Ste. Marie: November 29, 2006

Broad, Gayle
Hallin-Williamson, Ted
Manley, Gayle

Scarborough: December 7, 2006

Erdman, Sol
Hussain, Aamir
Kabitsis, Dimitrios
Newell, John
Rourke, Tim
Seales, Robert

Sharp, Jacqueline
Speirs, Rosemary

St. Catharines: November 30, 2006

Slepkov, Bernie
Tossounian, Jeannette
Woodard, Douglas

Sudbury (bilingual): November 29, 2006

Cimino, Joe
Land, Chris
Pearson, David
Saarinen, Oiva

Thunder Bay: November 28, 2006

Aegard, Russ
Angus, Iain
Hamilton, Terry
Hyer, Bruce
Wolframe, Barry

Timmins (bilingual): November 27, 2006

No registered presenters at this meeting

Toronto Central (bilingual): January 17, 2007

Bouchard, Luc
Campey, John
Casselman, Leah
Facchin, Amelia
Gordon, Larry
Kimberley-Young, Rhonda
McEachern, Bruce
Pelletier, Marie Lyne
Phillips, William
Raney, Tracey
Rebick, Judy
Thomlinson, Neil
Vandenberg, George

Toronto Central: January 21, 2007

Batchelor, Dahn
Bryant, Norval F.
Budd, Bruce
de Jong, Frank
Gapka, Susan
Henschel, Craig
Landau, Reva
Roberts, William
Rodbourne, Robert
Rosenburg, Michael
Ruddell, Carol
Silva, Luis
Suurmond, Jan

Toronto Central (ASL): January 22, 2007

Folino, Frank
Simser, Scott

Toronto Central: January 25, 2007

Darby, Charm
Dick, Jonathan
Hun, Zork
King, Dan
Lizoain, David
MacDonald, Glen
Macdonald, June
McMurchy, Monte
Moya, Louisa
Potter, David

Rae, John
Twardawa, Christopher
Villeneuve, Yves

Toronto North: January 8, 2007

Boniferro, Scott
Cummings, Marcia
Curran, Matthew
Downey, Terry
Frei, Rosemary
Greanya, Daniel
Halstead, Bob
Jehan, Andrew
Peck, Kevin
Perruzza, Anthony
Reimer, Boyd
Sheppard, Linda
Tenenbaum, Harvey
Wachsmuth, David

Toronto West (ASL): January 8, 2007

Adams, John
Ball, Trevor
Bilaniuk, Michael
Davison, Peter
Hussain, Aamir
Kahl, Dieter
Malkowski, Gary
Pérez, José
Riley, Helen
Tindal, Chris
Vezina, Greg
Young, Gilbert

Windsor (bilingual): January 9, 2007

Lessard, Wayne

F. DELIBERATION PHASE

F-1: DELIBERATION PHASE OBJECTIVES

WEEKEND ONE (FEBRUARY 17/18)

Objectives:

- Approve the deliberation plan
- Learn about population and socio-economic trends in Ontario
- Discuss what the Assembly heard in the consultation phase and hear from the Students' Assembly
- Identify priority objectives for electoral system design
- Select an alternative system to design in Weekend Two

WEEKEND TWO (MARCH 3/4)

Objectives:

- Work on the design of a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system
- Decide whether to design another alternative system, and if so, which one

WEEKEND THREE (MARCH 17/18)

Objectives:

- Design a working model of a Single Transferable Vote (STV) system
- Continue the design of a working model of a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system

WEEKEND FOUR (MARCH 31/APRIL 1)

Objectives:

- Complete the design of models for a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) and Single Transferable Vote (STV) system
- Select the best alternative system

WEEKEND FIVE (APRIL 14/15)

Objectives:

- Resolve an outstanding design issue in the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) model
- Decide whether Ontario should keep its current Single Member Plurality (SMP) electoral system or adopt the MMP model designed by the Assembly
- If MMP is selected, decide whether to recommend it to the people of Ontario
- Discuss the final report and ancillary issues

WEEKEND SIX (APRIL 28/29)

Objectives:

- Approve the Assembly's report
- Discuss ways to communicate the Assembly's recommendation
- Hear from the Minister in recognition of the Assembly's work
- Share perspectives on the Assembly experience and ideas on future activities

F-2: MMP DECISION TREE

MAIN MMP DESIGN DECISIONS

Tends to increase likelihood of: Local and Regional Representation, Fewer Parties, Majority Governments

Tends to increase likelihood of: Proportionality, Demographic Representation, More Parties, Coalition Governments

#1 Single-Member Seats

How many single-member seats should there be?

Increased Number | Current Number | Decreased Number

Decrease seats uniformly across the whole province

Decrease seats in some areas, maintain seats in other areas

Method of decrease

#2 Ratio (Number of List Seats)

What should the ratio be of single-member to list seats?

More Single-Member: Fewer List Seats | Fewer Single-Member: More List Seats

F. DELIBERATION PHASE

MAIN MMP DESIGN DECISIONS

Tends to increase likelihood of: Local and Regional Representation, Fewer Parties, Majority Governments

Tends to increase likelihood of: Proportionality, Demographic Representation, More Parties, Coalition Governments

#3 List Tier

What type of list tier should there be?

Allocate seats Regionally

Allocate seats Provincially

How many regions should there be?

How many members should there be in each region?

How should the counting be done?

Count Votes Regionally (Regional Proportionality)

Count Votes Provincially (Province Wide Proportionality)

Count Votes Provincially (Province Wide Proportionality)

Method of allocation

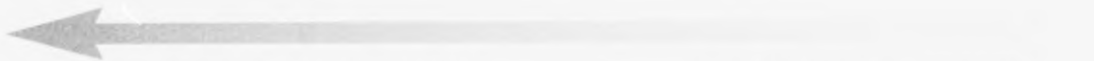
#4 Size of the Legislature

How many seats should there be in the legislature in total?

Large Decrease

Large Increase

OTHER MMP DESIGN DECISIONS



Increase likelihood of: Local and Regional Representation, Fewer Parties, Majority Governments

Increase likelihood of: Proportionality, Demographic Representation, More Parties, Coalition Governments

#5 Threshold

Should there be a threshold?

Yes No

What type of a threshold should there be?

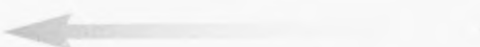
% of Popular vote
% vote

% of Popular Vote OR Number of Seats
# of seats

Should the threshold be provincial or regional?*

What size of a threshold should there be?

What size of a threshold should there be?



Large Small

Large Small

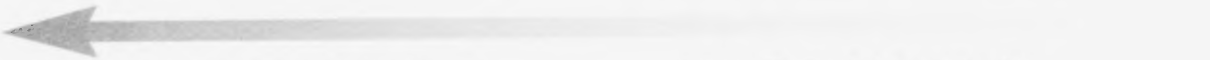
#6 Lists

What type of list should there be?

Near Winner	Free	Open	Closed
Method	Method	Method	Method

* Only possible to have a regional threshold if there are regions

OTHER MMP DESIGN DECISIONS



Increase likelihood of: Local and Regional Representation, Fewer Parties, Majority Governments

Increase likelihood of: Proportionality, Demographic Representation, More Parties, Coalition Governments

#7 Votes

How many votes should there be?

One* Two

#8 PR formula

Which formula should be used to allocate seats?

Imperiali D'hondt Droop Modified Sainte-Laguë Hare Pure Sainte-Laguë

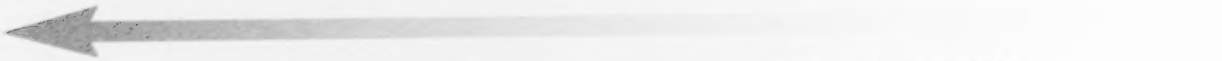
#9 Overhangs

Should balance seats be allowed?

No Yes

*Only possible if the list is Closed or Near Winner

OTHER MMP DESIGN DECISIONS



Increase likelihood of: Local and Regional Representation, Fewer Parties, Majority Governments

Increase likelihood of: Proportionality, Demographic Representation, More Parties, Coalition Governments

The Following issues will not be discussed unless there is an interest in doing so because MMP systems tend to have a common response to them.

Seat Vacancies

What should be the method to fill List seat vacancies?

Keep Seat Empty | Party chooses the replacement | Next person on the list*

Candidacy

Should dual candidacy be allowed?

Dual candidacy should be mandatory | Dual candidacy should be optional* | Dual candidacy should be prohibited

Single-Member Vote

What should be the system used for the local vote?

Other (i.e. TRS, SNTV, etc.) | Alternative Vote | First-Past-the-Post*

* Common response

F-3: STV DECISION TREE

MAIN STV DESIGN DECISIONS

Tends to increase likelihood of: Local and Regional Representation, Fewer Parties, Majority Governments

Tends to increase likelihood of: Proportionality, Demographic Representation, More Parties, Coalition Governments

#1 District Magnitudes

What should the district magnitudes be?

Small — Large

Should the district magnitude be the same in all districts?

Yes — No

#2 Size of the Legislature

How many seats should there be in the legislature?

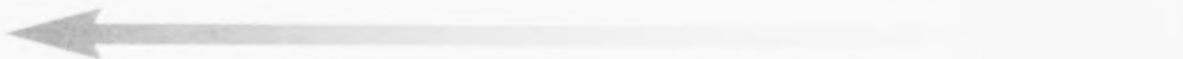
Large Decrease — Large Increase

#3 Districts

How many districts should there be?

Large Number — Small Number

OTHER STV DESIGN DECISIONS



Tends to increase likelihood of: Local and Regional Representation, Fewer Parties, Majority Governments

Tends to increase likelihood of: Proportionality, Demographic Representation, More Parties, Coalition Governments

#4 Transfer Method

Which method should be used to transfer surplus ballots?

Randomized | Discounted*

#5 Seat Vacancies

How should seat vacancies be filled?

By-election: Alternative Vote (i.e. STV with a DM of 1) | Recount | Appointed by the Party | Replacement List

#6 Ballot Completion

Should ballot completion be optional, partial or mandatory?

Optional ranking | Partial ranking | Mandatory ranking*

The Following issue will not be discussed unless there is an interest in doing so because STV systems tend to have a common response to it.

Formula

Which formula should be used to allocate seats?

Other | Modified Droop*

* Common response

G. EVALUATION

G-1: SAMPLE WEEKEND SURVEYS

BRIEF SURVEY #1, LEARNING PHASE | SEPTEMBER 9-10, 2006

Your ED Code: _____ **Note:** It is very important to include this number.

Please take a few minutes to complete the following survey.

Please rate the following statements according to the five-point scale below.

Scale | Strongly Disagree **1** | Disagree **2** | Neutral **3** | Agree **4** | Strongly Agree **5**

General Questions	Rating (1-5)
1. **Selection:** During the selection process, I was well informed about what I would be required to do as a Citizens' Assembly Member.	
2. **Participant Support:** The staff of the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat has been readily available and helpful.	
3. **Preparation:** I was provided with the information and materials I needed to prepare for this weekend session and I knew what to expect.	
4. **Balance:** There was an appropriate balance between plenary and small group discussions.	
5. **Organization:** The weekend session was well organized and I could follow the material presented.	
6. **Understanding:** The session this weekend raised my level of understanding about electoral systems and the principles that can be used to assess them.	
7. **Usefulness:** The session this weekend was a useful start in preparing me for the kinds of decisions I will have to make as a member of the Citizens' Assembly.	
8. **Focus:** CA members are focused on the mandate and committed to the process.	
9. **Community:** CA members show respect for each other and openness to each others' views.	
10. **Participation:** I was able to raise questions and express my views as much as I wanted to.	
11. **Consensus:** The decisions taken this weekend were taken fairly.	

12. **Commitment:** I feel the work of the Citizens' Assembly is important.

13. **Enjoyment:** Overall, I enjoyed this weekend session.

14. **Enthusiasm:** I am looking forward to the next weekend session.

Plenary Sessions	Rating (1-5)
15. **Open Forum** (Saturday, 9:15 a.m.): CA members were able to make observations and ask questions.	
16. **Working Together – Procedures and Values** (Saturday 10:00 a.m.): CA members were able to determine their process and how they will work together.	
17. **Overview of Learning Phase and Learning Materials** (Saturday 2:15 p.m.): I understand what is expected of me during the learning phase.	
18. **What are Electoral Systems and What Should Elections Accomplish** (Sunday 9:50 a.m.): I understand the importance of electoral systems, what they consist of and why values are important in assessing them.	
19. **Usefulness:** The plenary sessions were a useful part of the overall CA process.	

20. **Flow:** How did you find the pacing of the plenary sessions? too fast just right too slow

Small Group Sessions	Rating (1-5)
21. My facilitator treated every group member with respect and valued all of our opinions.	
22. My facilitator remained neutral and did not push his/her ideas on my group.	
23. My facilitator encouraged every group member to participate and participation was generally high.	
24. My facilitator answered questions of clarification satisfactorily.	
25. My facilitator kept the discussion focused.	
26. The small group discussions helped clarify the issues and my opinions.	
27. The small group discussions were a useful part of the overall CA process.	

28. How did you find the pacing of the small group discussions? too fast just right too slow

G. EVALUATION

29. What did you like best about the Citizens' Assembly session this weekend?

30. What did you like least about the session this weekend?

31. What can we do to make the next weekend session even more effective?

Thank you for taking the time to give us your feedback.
Please leave your completed survey in the box provided.

Ontario

Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform
L'Assemblée des citoyens sur la réforme électorale

BRIEF SURVEY #1, DELIBERATION PHASE | FEBRUARY 17–18, 2007

Your ED Code: _____ **Note:** It is very important to include this number.

Please take a few minutes to complete the following survey.

Please rate the following statements according to the five-point scale below.

Scale | Strongly Disagree **1** | Disagree **2** | Neutral **3** | Agree **4** | Strongly Agree **5**

General Questions	Rating (1-5)
1. **Support from Learning Team:** The Chair and Learning Team have supported me in deliberating and making decisions.	
2. **Participant Support:** The staff of the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat has been readily available and helpful.	
3. **Preparation:** I was provided with the information and materials I needed to prepare for this week-end session and I knew what to expect.	
4. **Balance:** There was an appropriate balance between the plenary sessions and the medium-sized group discussions.	
5. **Organization:** The weekend session was organized to support good discussion and decision-making.	
6. **Participation:** I was able to raise questions and express my views as much as I wanted to.	
7. **Discussion:** I was interested in the points of view expressed by others during the weekend.	
8. **Focus:** CA members are focused on the mandate and committed to the process.	
9. **Community:** CA members show respect for each other and openness to each others' views.	
10. **Usefulness:** The session this weekend was useful in preparing me to make a final decision about whether to change Ontario's electoral system, and if so, what alternative system to recommend.	
11. **Consensus:** The decisions taken this weekend were taken fairly.	
12. **Decision-Making:** The decisions made this weekend were reasonable and well-informed decisions.	

13. **Neutrality:** The Chair, Academic Director and other Secretariat staff remained neutral and impartial throughout the weekend.

14. **Commitment:** I feel the work of the Citizens' Assembly is important.

15. **Enjoyment:** Overall, I enjoyed this weekend session.

16. **Enthusiasm:** I am looking forward to the next weekend session.

Plenary Sessions	Rating (1-5)
17. **Open Forum** (Saturday, 9:15 a.m.): I am comfortable with the proposed approach to the deliberation phase.	
18. **The Changing Face of Ontario** (Saturday, 10:30 a.m.): I learned about population trends in Ontario that could be relevant for electoral system design.	
19. **Consultation Feedback** (Saturday, 11:30 a.m.): I have a better understanding of the themes raised during the public consultations.	
20. **Students' Assembly Presentation** (Saturday 12:30 p.m.): I have a better understanding of the views of youth in terms of electoral reform.	
21. **Key Objectives for System Design** (Saturday afternoon): The plenary discussions on the key objectives for electoral system design were useful.	
22. **Selecting a System to Design** (Sunday morning): The plenary discussions on the ranking of alternative electoral systems against the key design objectives were useful.	

Group Sessions	Rating (1-5)
23. The facilitators of my medium sized group sessions treated every group member with respect and valued all of our opinions.	
24. The facilitators of my medium sized group sessions remained neutral and did not push their ideas on the group.	
25. The facilitators of my medium sized group sessions encouraged every group member to participate and participation was generally high.	
26. The facilitators of my medium sized group sessions answered questions of clarification satisfactorily.	
27. The facilitators of my medium sized group sessions kept the discussion focused.	

28. The reporters from my medium sized group sessions captured and presented the key points of our group discussions.

29. The medium sized group sessions broadened the discussion and gave me a chance to hear more perspectives.

30. The medium sized group discussions helped clarify the issues and my opinions.

31. The medium sized group discussions were a useful part of the overall CA process.

Informal Discussions	Rating (1-5)

32. **Informal Discussions:** The informal discussions I have had with other Assembly members have been useful in clarifying my views.

33. **On-Line Forum:** I have used the online forum. Yes No

34. If yes, the On-Line Forum is a useful part of the CA process.

35. What do you think about the Citizens' Assembly session this weekend – what did you like best or least or what would you change to make the deliberation phase work better?

Thank you for taking the time to give us your feedback.
Please put your completed survey in the envelope and place it in the box provided.

G-2: PUBLIC CONSULTATION MEETING SURVEY

PUBLIC CONSULTATION MEETING: ATTENDEE SURVEY

Please take a few minutes to complete the following survey.

Meeting location: _____

Meeting date: _____

Please rate the following statements using the five-point scale below.

Strongly Disagree **1** | Disagree **2** | Neither Agree nor Disagree **3** | Agree **4** | Strongly Agree **5**

		Rating (1-5)
1	At this meeting, I learned more about the Citizens' Assembly and its work.	
2	The video was a useful part of the meeting.	
3	The presenters were given enough time to present and answer questions.	
4	There was a chance for members of the public to raise questions.	
5	The meeting was well organized.	
6	I made a presentation at the meeting. Yes No If you registered in advance to make a presentation, how did you find the registration process? Difficult No problem Easy	
7	I asked a question or made a comment at the meeting. Yes No	
8	I know that I can send my views to the Citizens' Assembly in writing. Yes No	
9	How did you learn about the Citizens' Assembly? Newspaper, radio, magazine, or TV Political party or other organization Other – please specify: Citizens' Assembly website By "word of mouth"	

10. How did you hear about this meeting?

Newspaper, radio, magazine, or TV	Citizens' Assembly website
Political party or other organization	Citizens' Assembly poster
By "word of mouth"	Citizens' Assembly member
Other – please specify:	

11. Is there anything we can do to improve the next public consultation meeting?

Thank you for taking the time to give us your feedback.
Please return your completed survey to the registration table.

H. WEB RESOURCES

H-1: CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY RESOURCES ON THE WEB

Final Recommendation of the Citizens' Assembly

Publications:

- **One Ballot, Two Votes: Recommendation of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform**
  This is the Assembly's final report. It explains what the Assembly recommended and why. [May 2007]
- **One Ballot, Two Votes Brochure**
  This brochure contains highlights from the Assembly's final report. [May 2007]
- **Democracy At Work: The Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform**
  The Citizens' Assembly Secretariat prepared this comprehensive report to document the process from start to finish. [May 2007]

Located in the "Resources" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca

Videos:

- **Democracy at Work: The Decision of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly in Their Own Words** (8 minutes)
  This is a video of Assembly members giving their message to the people of Ontario. [May 2007]
- **Billy Ballot: Introduction to the Citizens' Assembly's MMP System** (6 mintues)
  This is an animation describing the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system that the Citizens' Assembly recommended. [May 2007]

Located in the "Resources" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca

Other Resources Developed for the Citizens' Assembly

Learning Phase:

- **Learning Phase Materials**
  Materials used by Assembly members during the learning phase as they studied Ontario's electoral system and other systems.
  Located in the "Classroom" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca
- **Learning Phase Meetings**
  Video footage of plenary and group discussion sessions during each weekend of the learning phase.
  Located on the TVOntario website: www.tvo.org/citizensassembly

- **From Votes to Seats: Four Families of Electoral Systems**
  This publication provides a comprehensive overview of four families of electoral systems taking into account the principles the Assembly considered. It was prepared by Larry Johnston under the direction of the Citizens' Assembly Secretariat. [October 2006]
  Located in the "Resources" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca
- **Principles and Characteristics of Electoral Systems**
  This document provides an introduction to the nine principles that guided the Assembly's work. [October 2006]
  Located in the "Classroom" section (in the Library tab) of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.ontariocitizensassembly.gov.on.ca

Consultation Phase:

- **Citizens Talking to Citizens – Public Consultation Guide**
  The Assembly produced this guide to encourage members of the public to share their views during the public consultation. [October 2006]
  Located in the "Resources" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca
- **"1792" Consultation Brochure**
  This brochure contains highlights from the Public Consultation Guide. [October 2006]
  Located in the "Resources" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca
- **Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform – Public Consultation Reports**
  This report provides an overview of what the Assembly heard in public consultation meetings, written submissions, and special focus groups. [February 2007]
  Located in the "Resources" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca

Deliberation Phase:

- **Deliberation Phase Materials**
  Materials used by Assembly members as they worked together to form a recommendation on the future of Ontario's electoral system.
  Located in the "Deliberation Room" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca
- **Deliberation Phase Meetings**
  Video footage of plenary and group discussion sessions during each weekend of the deliberation phase.
  Located on the TVOntario website: www.tvo.org/citizensassembly

Evaluation of the Citizens' Assembly Process:

- **Citizen Deliberative Decision-Making: Evaluation of the Ontario Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform.**
  The Institute On Governance prepared this report on its independent evaluation of the Assembly process. [May 2007]

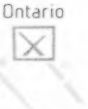
Located in the "Resources" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca

Other Video Resources Developed for the Citizens' Assembly

- **Billy Ballot: Electoral Systems Around the World** (11 minutes)
  This is an animation describing electoral systems. [October 2006]
- **Conversation About MMP in New Zealand** (38 minutes)
  This is a video of politicians in New Zealand talking about the transition from a Single-Member Plurality (SMP) system to a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system. [November 2006]
- **Conversation About STV in Ireland** (39 minutes)
  This is a video of politicians in Ireland talking about their Single Transferable Vote (STV) system. [February 2007]

Located in the "Classroom" section of the Citizens' Assembly website: www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca

Ontario



Citizens' Assembly
on Electoral Reform

L'Assemblée des citoyens
sur la réforme électorale

GREATER VOTER CHOICE | FAIRER ELECTION RESULTS | STRONGER REPRESENTATION

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